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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



OLIVER P. MORTON,

OF INDIANA.

SKETCH OF

HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

PREPARED BY

DIRECTION OF THE INDIANA REPUBLICAN
STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.



INDIANAPOLIS:
JOURNAL COMPANY, PRINTERS.
1876.

The following sketch of the life and public services of Hon. OLIVER P. MORTON has been prepared in pursuance of the following resolution which was unanimously adopted at the Republican State Convention, held at Indianapolis, on the 22d of February, 1876 :

Resolved, That the State Central Committee be authorized and requested to prepare and publish for presentation to the National Republican Convention, when assembled at Cincinnati, an address embracing a brief sketch of the life and public services of Oliver P. Morton, and especially setting forth his eminent fitness for the high office for which this convention has this day nominated him.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

It is the purpose of this sketch to present, in such manner as a limited space will permit, some phases of the public life, character and services of the Hon. Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana. If it can be fitly said of any man who has devoted himself consistently to the advocacy and advancement of a great cause, that he is its representative, then this can be truly said of Senator Morton and the Republican cause; for his whole public life has been spent in battling for the principle of political equality, and all the great ideas, which, naturally flowing from this, have signalized the grandest and most progressive era of our history. Nor is it invidious or inaccurate to say, if length of service and magnitude of results be taken into account, that he is the greatest living representative of Republican principles; for, while it may be freely conceded that there are many among our public men as earnestly devoted to these principles as he, there is none who has battled for them on as many fields or rendered as distinguished service in their behalf. The main design of the present sketch is to call attention to his public and political services; but this may be properly preceded by a brief notice of

HIS EARLY LIFE AND PROFESSIONAL CAREER.

Oliver Perry Morton was born in Wayne county, Indiana, August 4, 1823, and is consequently in his fifty-third year. He came of an old English family, his grandfather, who traced

his ancestry back quite a distance along an honorable line, having emigrated from England about a century ago and settled in New Jersey. This straight descent from an old English stock may account for some of the strong traits of Mr. Morton's character, which are supposed to be more common among the English than in other nationalities—as for instance his unconquerable will, tenacity of purpose, and readiness to accept a contest, whenever occasion requires, in spite of odds or obstacles. His father, William T. Morton, was a native of New Jersey and a man of sterling worth. His mother, also a native of New Jersey, was a woman of amiable disposition and rare force of character. Removing to the West at an early day, they soon became identified with one of the rising communities of the young State of Indiana, of which their son was to become so distinguished and honored a citizen. Young Morton's early years were passed amid narrow opportunities, but as often happens in such cases, they were more highly prized and assiduously improved on that account. Like many other Americans who have risen to high position, Senator Morton traces his earliest development to a natural fondness for study and an earnest desire to utilize the meager advantages afforded him. Apprenticed to a hatter at the age of fifteen, he followed the business for four years and seemed likely to devote his life to that trade; but Providence had not so decreed. During this period all his spare hours were spent in reading, and the information thus acquired begetting a thirst for more knowledge, he quit his trade, and in January, 1843, at the age of nineteen, entered Miami University at Oxford, Ohio. Here he remained two years, his vigorous and healthy mind eagerly grasping and appropriating all the means of knowledge placed within his reach. One of his teachers says he was "a diligent, earnest student, modest but not timid, plain but not verdant, and more anxious to acquire knowledge than to display it." He also had the reputation of being the best extemporaneous speaker and debater in the college—a talent which doubtless shaped his career in life, and accounts, in a large degree, for his great success and power as a public man. At the age of twenty-two he left college and immediately

began the study of law, in the office of the Hon. John S. Newman, at Centerville, Indiana. It may be mentioned as a fact equally honorable to both that the friendship then begun between them continues unbroken, and the former preceptor is still a trusted friend and counselor of his now distinguished pupil. Mr. Morton brought to this new undertaking the same energy of purpose and conscientious effort which had now become a recognized trait of his character, and grappled with the law as one who meant to learn it. His masculine mind soon mastered the principles of the science, and with patient effort took in its details. Judge Newman says he was a very thorough reader, and possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of thinking at all times and in every place. He was admitted to practice in 1847. At that time the bar of Wayne and adjacent counties embraced a number of the best lawyers in the State, and Mr. Morton soon found himself brought into professional contact with some of the ablest and most cultivated men who have ever graced the profession in Indiana. It was a good school for a young lawyer and well calculated to put him to his best efforts and bring out all there was in him. Though he did not leap at once to fame, as indeed few lawyers in this or any other country have ever done, his success was assured from the beginning, and he soon came to be recognized as one of the soundest lawyers on that circuit. Within ten years from his admission to the bar he had a very large and lucrative practice and was spoken of as a rising man. In 1852, at the age of twenty-nine, Mr. Morton was elected Circuit Judge by the Legislature. The position of a Judge, however, had little attraction for him, and though he filled it to the entire satisfaction of the profession and the public, he willingly resigned it at the end of a year. Being naturally of a controversial cast of mind, he preferred the bar to the bench, and professional combat to judicial service. He was a good judge but a better counselor and advocate. From 1853 to 1860 he devoted himself assiduously and successfully to the practice, with the exception of some brief digressions into politics, and was on one side or the other of nearly every important case tried in Wayne or the neighboring counties.

ENTRANCE INTO POLITICS.

Mr. Morton began life as a Democrat. The early traditions of that party exercised a peculiar power over the minds of ambitious young men, and the public conscience was still comparatively dormant as to its corrupt and corrupting tendencies. He was reared to believe in Democratic doctrines, and when he became a voter (1844) slavery was still generally regarded as a sacred institution, upon the protection of which depended the perpetuity of the Union. The political danger of the institution was no better understood than its moral turpitude, and though a public sentiment was already forming which was destined to sweep it out of existence, that sentiment had not as yet assumed any well defined organization or feasible line of action. The public mind was saturated with the idea, so long and zealously taught by the Democratic party, that the Constitution was the twin brother of slavery, and that the preservation of the one required immunity, if not protection for the other. But the leaven was at work which was to leaven the whole lump, and the time was fast approaching when the corrupt and dangerous designs of the Democracy were to be exposed in all their hideous proportions. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 at once betrayed the whole purpose of the party and opened the way for those to leave it, who had already become convinced of its faithlessness and treachery. Mr. Morton left it then and has ever since acted with the party of liberty and progress, then nameless, but now known to history and fame as the Republican party. Having made public avowal of his opposition to slavery and his withdrawal from the Democracy, he soon became known as one of the most earnest advocates of a new party to embody the growing sentiment against the aggressions of the slave power and to represent the principles of liberty and progress. He was one of the three delegates sent from Indiana to the

PITTSBURGH CONVENTION IN 1856.

From this convention the Republican party dates its origin—

not the origin of its principles, but the beginning of its political existence. It was held on the 22nd of February, a day which has been honored by many Republican conventions since. Its deliberations were interesting and important, and were actively participated in by Mr. Morton, who was already recognized as one of the rising men of the new party. This convention blazed the way for the one at Philadelphia, which, four months later, nominated John C. Fremont for President. In thus espousing the Republican cause, Mr. Morton was accompanied and followed by many honest and staunch Democrats, who, as the issue was made up, recognized the Republican party as the party of liberty and progress. Especially were the liberty-loving Germans quick to discern the significance of the movement and prompt in giving it their adhesion. They espoused the cause with great heartiness and enthusiasm and were then, as now, among its most ardent supporters. Among all his friends Senator Morton numbers none more ardent or more appreciative of his services to the cause of liberty than the German Republicans of Indiana.

The Republican State Convention of Indiana met in 1856 to nominate candidates for Governor and State officers. The new party was on its metal, and every consideration required that it should put forth its strongest and most available men. It already numbered in its ranks many thousands of the best citizens in the State, and justly claimed then, as now, to represent the best elements of society. On a full survey of the situation, the convention nominated Mr. Morton for Governor by acclamation. The nomination was accepted with a full consciousness that there was little or no prospect of election and that the party expected a thorough and exhaustive canvass of the State. It would involve several months neglect of professional business and considerable expense. But he had embarked in the new movement and his heart was in the cause. Foreseeing the rising contest between the powers of political darkness and light, he could have truthfully said with Richard, "My soul's in arms and eager for the fray."

His Democratic opponent in the contest was Hon. A. P.

Willard, a very able man and one of the most brilliant speakers of his day. He represented an old, compact, powerful political organization, strengthened by the prestige of time and past successes ; while Morton appeared as the champion of a new party, comparatively weak in numbers and organization, but strong in the consciousness of right principles. From that campaign, unsuccessful as it was, dates his popularity with the Republican masses and his powerful hold on the party ; for, though subsequent events have infinitely strengthened both, they had their beginning in the campaign of 1856. Mr. Morton made a thorough canvass of the State, appearing then, for the first time, before the people at large. Wherever he went he made a deep and lasting impression by the vigor of his attack, the force of his logic, the evident earnestness of his convictions and the lofty confidence which he evinced in the ultimate triumph of Republican principles. Those who listened to him knew he was a rising man, and saw the light of ultimate victory in his eye. Broad and deep he laid in the hearts and minds of the people the foundation principles on which was to be reared, in future years, a political structure of grandeur and beauty. The contest ended in his defeat, as he expected it would ; but it was a victory for the Republican party, since the seed then sown were, in due time, to spring up and bring forth abundant fruit. From that day to the present, no political campaign has occurred in the State in which he has not borne a leading part. In every battle for Republican principles he has been in the thickest of the fight, leading and cheering on his followers and dealing tremendous blows on the enemy, while his intuitive knowledge of politics and his consummate leadership have been found as valuable in council as in action.

After the unsuccessful campaign of 1856, Mr. Morton resumed the practice of law, which he continued for four years, when the Republican party again demanded his services. In 1860 he was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor, with Hon. Henry S. Lane as Governor. Again, as in 1856, he threw aside private and professional business at the call of party, and prepared for another thorough canvass of the State. This time he was no stranger to the people. His services

to the new party had been matter of common remark during the last four years, and wherever he went he was greeted with enthusiasm. The campaign lasted four months, and he spoke in every part of the State. In this canvass he showed the same intuitive insight into politics, the same comprehensive grasp of public questions and enthusiastic devotion to the principles of the Republican party that had won so much commendation in 1856. In a speech, delivered at Terre Haute on the 10th of March, 1860, he thus arraigned the Democratic party :

"It found the country at peace, and has left it stained with blood and torn by civil dissensions. It reopened the slavery question in a form most offensive, and under circumstances most aggravating to the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. It was the deliberate breach of a time-honored Compromise which had had its origin in the most critical period of our political history, and had given peace to the nation. History will pronounce judgment on this repeal as a wanton and wicked act, without a circumstance to palliate or excuse its perpetration, and as having its origin in the political necessities and reckless ambition of partisans. The object to be gained was the united favor of the South, and the means of obtaining it an extravagant and reckless devotion to her supposed interests."

Of the Republican party then advancing so grandly to victory, he said :

"It is a matter of proud congratulation that there is not one disunionist within the pale of the Republican party. There is no part of the Republican platform upon which a disunionist can stand. * * * We do not say that the Union may be preserved upon certain conditions; we do not measure our fidelity to it by our success; but we say 'it must and shall be preserved,' whatever party may be in the ascendant. We do not say the Republican party first and the Union afterwards; but we say the Union first, last and all the time, and that we will wage uncompromising warfare upon all parties that contemplate its destruction under any circumstances."

Perhaps the remembrance of his defeat four years before spurred him to greater efforts, or perhaps the almost certain prospect of victory inspired him; certain it is that in this campaign he performed a vast amount of labor and with marked results. Under Providence, his efforts in 1856 and 1860 contributed more than those of any other one person to the overthrow of the slave Democracy in this State and the final success of the Republican party. The election resulted in the success of the whole Republican ticket by about 10,000 majority. Immediately after the assembling of the

legislature, Mr. Lane was elected United States Senator, and Mr. Morton became

GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

This office had in store for him such labors, responsibilities, and dangers as rarely fall to the lot of man; and, it may be added, it was destined to bring him a corresponding amount of public applause and national reputation. But before noticing in detail his great services to the State and Nation in this capacity, it will be necessary to glance at the political situation at the time of his assuming the office.

The steady aggression of the slave power had culminated in the open avowal of a purpose to dissolve the Union in case of a Republican success in 1860. While using the cry of "sectionalism" against the Republican party, the Southern Democracy had themselves erected the sectional standard by asserting that the government was nothing without slavery, and the constitution worthless unless that institution was to be both protected and extended. Public sentiment, already debauched by a long and systematic course of Democratic intrigue, was still further demoralized by the weakness and treachery of James Buchanan's administration, the most disastrous and despicable that has ever disgraced our history. Corruption was the rule, and honesty the exception. Patriots blushed with shame, and treason lifted its head without rebuke. The October elections in 1860 showed that the public conscience was at last aroused, and that the men of the North were moving. The election of Lincoln in November threw the Democracy into a frenzy of rage. Four months of Buchanan's administration still remained in which to work their policy of rule or ruin, and they no longer attempted to conceal their purposes. Dissolution of the Union was the Southern ultimatum—peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. The doctrine of secession was boldly avowed as a constitutional and Democratic remedy against a Republican triumph, and the idea of preventing or "coercing" a State from going out of the Union was hooted at by every Southern Democrat and a majority of those in the North. Meanwhile, a Demo-

cratic Secretary of War was scattering the army and plundering the government arsenals, and other Democratic traitors were using their utmost efforts to undermine the government. Disunion meetings were being held in all parts of the South. Resolutions had already passed the South Carolina legislature (Nov. 12, 1860,) calling a convention with the distinct purpose of secession, and both of the United States Senators from that State had resigned their seats. And still, as yet, no one in all the great North had raised an authoritative voice against this madness. There was patriotism and loyalty enough, but it was unorganized, even disorganized. The President elect was not yet authorized to speak. The Northern press was wavering and public opinion was at sea. The country was

WAITING FOR A LEADER.

Just at this time a Republican mass meeting was called in Indianapolis to consider the situation. It met on the 22d of November, 1860. The largest hall in the city was crowded with such an audience as the Republican party only could furnish. The speaker was Oliver P. Morton. The subject was the rights and duties of the government in the existing emergency. The audience knew he was a strong and bold man, and they expected strong and bold words; but their hearts leaped with joy at what they heard that night, as the loyal heart of the country did the next day on reading the report of his speech. Then and there for the first time by any leading man was the duty of the government in the pending crisis clearly and boldly asserted. The doctrines of secession and coercion were examined in the light of the constitution, and the right and duty of self-preservation shown to belong to the government. Stripping the subject of all disguises, the speaker struck straight at the heart of the question, and interpreted at once the popular conviction and the popular wish in that trying hour. The path of honor and of duty was shown to be the only path of safety. The pernicious doctrine of "peaceable secession," advocated by some well meaning persons in the North, was traced to its ultimate consequences, and shown to be contrary to the constitution and fatal to every

principle of government. The grandeur and glory of the Union were set forth in eloquent words, and the power of the government to "coerce" a seceding State was asserted in the strongest terms. In short, the patriotic sense of the loyal North in favor of preserving the Union was interpreted in a manner which no other public man had yet ventured to adopt. Morton rose to the height of the occasion. The policy of "coercion" had come to be a sort of bugbear to many persons.

"What is coercion?" said Mr. Morton, "but the enforcement of the law? Is anything else intended or required? Secession or nullification can only be regarded by the general government as individual action upon individual responsibility. Those concerned in it can not entrench themselves behind the forms of the state government so as to give their conduct the semblance of legality, and thus devolve the responsibility upon the state government, which of itself is irresponsible. The constitution and laws of the United States operate upon individuals, but not upon states, and precisely as if there were no states. In this matter the President has no discretion. He has taken a solemn oath to enforce the laws and preserve order, and to this end he has been made Commander-in-chief of the army and navy. How can he be absolved from responsibility thus devolved upon him by the constitution and his official oath?"

He then showed that the constitution provided no way for a state to get out of the Union, and that the only alternative for the President was to enforce the laws or acknowledge the independence of a seceding state, and he could only do that by authority of Congress. The central thought and ruling idea of the speech was that the Union must be preserved, and, if need be, by force. Pursuing this line of thought, Mr. Morton said:

"The right of secession conceded, the Nation is dissolved. Instead of having a Nation, one mighty people, we have but a collection and combination of thirty-three independent and petty states, held together by a treaty which has hitherto been called a constitution, of the infraction of which each state is to be the judge, and from which any state may withdraw at pleasure. * * * The right of secession conceded and the way to do it having been shown to be safe and easy, the prestige of the republic gone, the national pride extinguished with the national idea, secession would become the remedy for every state or sectional grievance, real or imaginary. * * * If South Carolina gets out of the Union, I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet, after our best efforts have failed to compel her to submission to the laws. * * * Shall we now surrender the Nation without a struggle, and let the Union go with merely a few hard words? If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this Nation,

"it is worth one to preserve it, and I trust that we shall not, by surrendering with indecent haste, publish to the world that the inheritance our fathers purchased with their blood we have given up to save ours."

Then, after pointing out the frightful consequences, the anarchy and ruin sure to follow a dissolution of the Union, he said :

"We must, then, cling to the idea that we are a Nation, one and indivisible, and that, although subdivided by state lines for local and domestic purposes, we are but one people, the citizens of a common country, having like institutions and manners, and possessing a common interest in that inheritance of glory so richly provided by our fathers. We must therefore do no act—we must *tolerate* no act—we must concede no idea or theory that looks to or involves the dismemberment of the Nation. * * *
 * Seven years is but a day in the life of a nation, and I would rather come out of a struggle at the end of that time, defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution, than to purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this Nation into small and dishonored fragments. * * * The whole question is summed up in this proposition: 'Are we one Nation, one people, or thirty-three nations, or thirty-three independent and petty states?' The statement of the proposition furnishes the answer. If we are one nation then no State has a right to secede. Secession can only be the result of successful revolution. I answer the question for you, and I know that my answer will find a true response in every true American heart, that we are one people, one Nation, undivided and indivisible."

It is doubtful if any speech ever delivered in the United States produced more immediate and visible effects than the one from which the above quotations are made. It was what the country had been waiting for—the voice of a leader able to comprehend the great issues involved, far-sighted enough to trace them to their legitimate results, and bold enough to assert the right and duty of the Government to protect itself against secession and treason. The speech went to the popular heart like a bullet to its mark. Men read it, and said, "here is the doctrine and the man." It dissipated the clouds of doubt and error as the sun scatters the morning mists. The public mind wavered no longer. From that day forth the idea of "peaceable secession" was dead and the policy of force was a fixed fact. It went like wild-fire all over the country. It was published far and wide in the Republican papers, and everywhere admitted to be unanswerable. The Southern leaders read in it an authoritative expression of

Northern opinion. A prominent gentleman, who visited the President-elect a short time afterwards, at Springfield, found Mr. Lincoln reading the speech, and Mr. Lincoln said: "It covers the whole ground, and declares the whole policy of the Government. It is the policy I shall pursue from the first." Its echoes reached across the ocean, and it was regarded with such political significance that the English authorities applied, through the English consul at Cincinnati, for a copy of it. It constituted a rallying-point for public opinion throughout the North and gave an immense impulse to the development of loyal sentiment. It lifted Mr. Morton at once into national prominence and secured him universal recognition as one of the ablest men in the Republican party.

On the 16th of January, 1861, he became Governor, vice Hon. Henry S. Lane, elected to the United States Senate. From the day of his inauguration Governor Morton gave evidence of possessing

EXTRAORDINARY EXECUTIVE ABILITY.

Hitherto he had been known as an able lawyer, a powerful debater, and an eloquent champion of Republican principles. During the next few years he was destined to develop most surprising ability as an executive officer. It is entirely within the bounds of truth to say that no man now in public life has had so great experience as an executive officer, or has shown such signal ability in administering a high office in the face of unparralleled difficulties and dangers. With one exception, Governor Morton was the youngest Executive of any Northern State—being, at the time of his inauguration, thirty-seven years old. But of all those who acted in that capacity during the eventful years of the war, none was surrounded with such difficulties as he, and none gave evidence of such iron will and immense fertility of resources. Other Governors had, indeed, important duties to perform, but, they were sustained by a united people, and the path of duty was plain and unobstructed. With Governor Morton the case was very different. He was beset with difficulties

and dangers throughout the whole course of his administration. In no other Northern State was the opposition to the war so strong and bitter as in Indiana, and nowhere else did it find expression in such formidable and dangerous organizations. The character and extent of this opposition will be more fully noticed hereafter, together with the means by which it was constantly met and defeated; the matter is referred to now by way of emphasizing the statement, made deliberately, that no public man in America has given evidence of possessing such remarkable executive ability as the Hon. O. P. Morton.

His first attention was turned toward reforming the civil administration of the State, and during the three months that preceded the breaking out of the war he accomplished wonders in this direction. The financial affairs of the State were in confusion and embarrassment. Under a succession of loose and corrupt administrations the State had been disgraced and its credit seriously impaired. A long period of uninterrupted Democratic rule had polluted every department of the State government. The public lands had been stolen, its revenues squandered, and fraud and extravagance were the prevailing rule. The people soon discovered that there was a new man at the helm and that the old order of things had passed away. Happily, he had in his work of reform the hearty co-operation of an excellent set of State officers, and the results were soon manifest in the higher tone of administration, the reduction of public expenses, the wholesale removal of peculating officials and a general reformation of affairs. Governor Morton had already distinguished himself as an executive officer before the war began; but that event, ushering in the most memorable era of our history, was destined to develop this quality of his character in a most marvellous degree, and to secure for him, in the mouths of all men and in history, the honorable title of

INDIANA'S WAR GOVERNOR.

And here let us recapitulate a little. Since the election of Lincoln the secessionists in the South had been very active,

and the Democratic conspiracy for the dissolution of the Union had made rapid progress. A convention had been called in South Carolina, which, on the 20th of December, 1861, had passed unanimously and amid great enthusiasm an ordinance of secession. The Georgia Legislature had passed a bill appropriating \$1,000,000 to arm and equip the State, and a delegate convention had adopted an ordinance of secession by an overwhelming majority. Most of the Southern States had wheeled into line, or shown their willingness to do so. Peaceable expedients had been exhausted, and all attempts at compromise had failed. The South would have nothing but separation. The rebel Senators and Representatives had remained in Congress as long as they dared, and then, drawing their pay, had fled South. A Congress of Southern States had been held at Montgomery, Alabama, early in February, 1861, at which a constitution for "The Confederate States of America" had been adopted, and a President and Vice President had been elected. On his way to Washington Mr. Lincoln made a brief stop at Indianapolis, and was received with great enthusiasm by a vast assemblage of people. On this occasion Governor Morton delivered the address of welcome to the President, in the course of which he said :

"In every free government there will be differences of opinion, and these differences result in the formation of parties; but, when the voice of the people has been expressed through the forms of the Constitution, all parties yield to it obedience. Submission to the popular will is the essential principle of Republican government, and so vital is this principle that it admits of but one exception, which is revolution. To weaken it is anarchy; to destroy it is despotism. It recognizes no appeal beyond the ballot-box, and while it is preserved, Liberty may be wounded but never slain."

To these statesmanlike words the President-elect responded in terms which showed that he fully appreciated the gravity of the situation. After his inauguration events followed each other in rapid succession. Finally they culminated in the firing on Fort Sumter, and the surrender of that post to the rebels. This occurred on the 12th of April, 1861. On the 15th, President Lincoln issued his Proclamation calling for 75,000 men, and appealing "to all loyal citizens to favor,

“facilitate and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity and existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular Government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured.” On the morning of the very day this proclamation was issued, and before it was received in Indianapolis, Governor Morton had telegraphed as follows:

“EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF INDIANA, }
“INDIANAPOLIS, April 15, 1861. }

“TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

“President of the United States:

“On behalf of the State of Indiana, I tender to you, for the defence of the Nation and to uphold the authority of the Government, ten thousand men.

“OLIVER P. MORTON,

“Governor of Indiana.”

Thus Indiana, through her Governor, was the first State to accept the gauge of war and to proffer troops, as she was also one of the first to put her troops into the field. The State’s quota, under the call, was six regiments, and on the next day Governor Morton issued the following proclamation:

“WHEREAS, An armed rebellion has been organized in certain States of this Union, having for its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States;

“AND WHEREAS, The authors and movers in this rebellion have siezed, by violence, various forts and arsenals belonging to the United States, and otherwise plundered the Government of large amounts of money and valuable property;

“AND WHEREAS, Fort Sumter, belonging to the United States, the exclusive possession of, and jurisdiction over, which were vested in the general Government by the Constitution of the United States, has been besieged by a large army, and assaulted by a destructive cannonade, and reduced to submission, and the National flag hauled down and dishonored;

“AND WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in the exercise of the power vested in him by the Federal Constitution, has called upon the several States remaining true to their allegiance to aid him in the enforcement of the laws, the recovery of the National property and the maintenance of the rightful authority of the United States;

“NOW, THEREFORE, I, OLIVER P. MORTON, Governor of the State of Indiana, call upon the loyal and patriotic men of this State, to the number of six regiments, to organize themselves into military companies, and forthwith report themselves to the Adjutant General, in order that they may be speedily mustered into the service of the United States.

“OLIVER P. MORTON,

“Governor.”

INDIANAPOLIS, April 16, 1861.

The response of the people to the Governor's call was as prompt as his own to that of the government. The day after it was issued there were five hundred men in camp at Indianapolis, and the State House had already begun to assume the appearance of a military headquarters. Fearing that an attempt would be made by the rebels to take possession of the National Capital, Governor Morton telegraphed to the Secretary of War on the 18th offering to send forward one regiment immediately if needed to protect the capital, but they were not called for. At this time there was less than \$15,000 in the State treasury, and no available means of arming, subsisting and equipping troops. Foreseeing the approach of hostilities, Governor Morton had visited Washington about the middle of March for the purpose of procuring a supply of arms for State troops from the General Government, but obtained little satisfaction. What few arms the State had, therefore, were practically worthless. It had no military law nor any military system. All had to be built from the ground up. No man ever met new and sudden responsibilities more nobly than Governor Morton did in this emergency, or showed greater executive ability and aptitude for affairs. On the 20th of April, four days after his call was issued, the organization of regiments began. Meanwhile, the war spirit was rushing through the State like a whirlwind, and volunteers continued to pour in. At this juncture, Governor Morton, foreseeing that the government would need more men, telegraphed to the Secretary of War offering six additional regiments, without regard to length of service, and pledging his word to organize them in six days, if accepted. No response being received to this proposition, the Governor, on the 23d, sent a special messenger to Washington, renewing the offer, and expressing his determination at all events to put six additional regiments into camp and hold them subject to the demand of the government. Thus, at the very threshold of the conflict, he showed an appreciation of its probable magnitude and an energy in preparing for it not evinced by the Governor of any other Northern State. Happily, his great popularity throughout the State, and the unbounded confidence which the people had already learned to feel in his judgment and patriotism, enabled him to

fulfill to the letter every pledge or promise ever made to the Government, or to the troops themselves. Amid the vast and difficult labors now devolved on him, his personal energy was felt in the smallest details, while his promptness and vigor of action soon taught the Government and the people alike to look upon him as one of the

MAIN PILLARS OF THE STATE.

He threw himself with tremendous energy into the work of prosecuting the war, and steadily and rapidly rose to the height of the great occasion. On the 24th of April the State Legislature met, in obedience to the Governor's call issued a few days previous. In his message to that body, after reviewing the history of the secession movement, he said :

"We have passed from the field of argument to the solemn fact of war which exists by the act of the seceding States. The issue is forced upon us, and must be accepted. Every man must take his position on one side or on the other. In time of war there is no ground upon which a third party can stand. It is the imperative duty of all men to rally to the support of the government, and to expend in its behalf, if need be, their fortunes and their blood. Upon the preservation of this government depend our prosperity and greatness as a nation, our liberty and happiness as individuals."

The Legislature, catching the Governor's spirit, responded with alacrity to these patriotic sentiments. It promptly enacted all the legislation recommended by him, and in every way showed its perfect confidence in his judgment and patriotism. The appropriation bills passed were for general military purposes, \$1,000,000 ; for the purchase of arms, \$500,000 ; for contingent military expenses, \$100,000 ; and for organizing and supporting the State militia two years, \$140,000. His determination to be first in the field, had induced Governor Morton to send agents to the eastern cities and to Canada to purchase improved arms for the Indiana troops. The organization of regiments was pushed forward so rapidly that within ten days from the President's call Indiana's quota was organized, and on the 25th of April the whole six regiments were mustered into the service, and put upon a course of thorough military drill. Before the 1st of May he had purchased a

large quantity of Belgian rifles of an agent in Montreal, and had contracted with a Cincinnati foundry for eight brass six-pounders and four twelve-pound howitzers for field use. This armament may seem small compared with subsequent operations, but it was in advance of the times, and showed rare energy and a full understanding of the situation. As a result of Governor Morton's splendid management, Indiana led all the Western States in its preparations for hostilities. He was terribly in earnest in the prosecution of the war, and infused his earnestness into every person about him and into all the people; the consequence was, he was able to accomplish results which to those who did not know the man or his manner of working seemed incredible. His iron will carried all before it, while his capacity for labor seemed to have no limit. The three months' troops which constituted Indiana's quota under the first call, left Indianapolis in the latter part of May for West Virginia, where they were soon engaged in active operations. Their passage through Cincinnati excited great enthusiasm, though their complete equipment and martial outfit provoked unfavorable comparisons. The Cincinnati Gazette spoke in terms of high admiration of Governor Morton's executive ability, while the Commercial said;

"The governor of Indiana has out-generaled the governor of Ohio. The contrast in the condition of the troops of the respective states proves it. The former has sent four admirably equipped regiments to the battle-field, and has two more ready to march at an hour's notice. The governor of Ohio has not a single regiment in camp or in field, properly equipped for service. The Hoosier troops are all armed with rifle muskets, uniformed, and are furnished with their complement of camp equipments. A large number of their rifles have sword bayonets. Ohio troops have a few rifles, some of them are uniformed, and a portion of them have camp equipage; but there is almost as much difference in their conditions in favor of the former as there is between raw militia and veteran troops."

A few days later, in noticing the passage through Cincinnati of the Eighth and Tenth regiments the Commercial said:

"The stout and brawny appearance of the Indiana troops was universally remarked. Napoleon never marshaled better stuff into his grenadiers. The lads were bronzed and hardy, and carried themselves with gallant bearing. Each regiment consisted of about 800 men. They were armed with the new U. S. muskets of the most approved pattern. No Ohio troops have such arms. Whose fault is it?"

It is not desired to exalt Governor Morton at the expense of anybody else, but simply to recall what is matter of history and what was universally admitted during the war, viz.: that with one or two exceptions no other Northern governor displayed as much energy, capacity, and executive ability as he.

The troops thus hurried to the front had been organized, fed, clothed and equipped by him without assistance from the National Government. They fired the first shots in the war west of the Alleghanies, and were mainly instrumental in winning the earliest victories.

In anticipation of a second call, Governor Morton proceeded immediately to organize five additional regiments of twelve months' volunteers, which, by an act of the Legislature, were to remain under his control until needed by the Government. The call came May 16, 1861. It was for forty-two thousand three years men, and Indiana's quota was four regiments. Governor Morton was prepared for this call in advance, the regiments being already organized, equipped and partially drilled. Thus his foresight in organizing these regiments proved of great value to the country, and enabled him to respond upon the instant to the President's second call without going through the formality and delay of another appeal to the people. And so it was all the time. He either anticipated every call for troops, or had matters in such a state of preparation that no time was lost in responding. His system of securing volunteers was admirable, while his faculty of stirring and rousing the people kept the war feeling at fever heat. It would be impossible within the limits of a sketch like this to narrate in detail his vast and multifarious labors during this period. He seemed to be ubiquitous, now in Washington, now at home, counseling with the President, encouraging the people, organizing regiments, hurrying troops to the front, looking after those already in the field, negotiating loans, organizing sanitary commissions, forwarding stores—in short, performing the labor of a dozen men, and infusing his spirit into all with whom he came in contact. He was the right arm of the Government in the West, and when danger threatened anywhere within striking distance from Indiana, Governor Morton was looked to for succor and

defense. Thus, when Gen. Kirby Smith was preparing to invade Kentucky, loyal Kentuckians turned to Morton. The Secretary of War telegraphed him to do his utmost for the defense of Kentucky. General Boyle, commanding the district of Kentucky, telegraphed from Frankfort to Governor Morton: "Rebels invading Kentucky. Send any forces you can possibly spare." General Buell telegraphed him from Huntsville, Alabama, that a formidable raid was threatening Kentucky, and urging that troops should be sent forward with the utmost dispatch. So, too, when Cincinnati was threatened by Kirby Smith, Major General Wright, commanding the department, appealed to Governor Morton for aid in the defense of that city, which was believed to be in imminent danger. Within fifteen hours from the receipt of the call he had forwarded by special train two regiments of infantry, twenty-four pieces of artillery, 3,000 stand of arms, 31,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, and 3,365,000 musket cartridges—the ammunition, by the way, manufactured in the state arsenal established by him. The governor and his military staff themselves went to Cincinnati to assist in organizing the troops and in other defensive arrangements. No demand was too great, and no call too sudden for him to meet. His energy, like his patriotism, responded to every draft.

HIS MILITARY FORESIGHT.

A remarkable characteristic of Governor Morton's administration was the sound judgment and unerring foresight with which he prepared for every military emergency. We do not refer now to the manner in which he frequently anticipated and foreshadowed the policy of the government, but to his admirable arrangements for meeting promptly and efficiently those demands which he saw could not be long postponed. Thus after the second quota of the State had been filled, and when many persons thought there would be no further call for troops, he began to prepare for what he knew could not be long delayed. To this end, while the three months troops were still in the field, he sent special messengers to urge them

to re-enlist for three years or for the war. He represented to them that the war was sure to last during several campaigns, that the government would need more men when the terms of those now in the service should expire, and that Indiana would certainly be called upon for further aid. The result was that these regiments re-enlisted almost in a body, and were reorganized in time to respond with others to the third call for troops, which was issued August 4, 1862. This call was for 300,000 men for nine months; the fourth call, issued June 15, 1863, was for 100,000 men for six months; the fifth call, October 17, 1863, was for 300,000 men for three years; the sixth call, July 18, 1864, was for 500,000 men for one, two, or three years; the seventh and last call, December 19, 1864, was for 300,000 men for one, two or three years. Under these various calls Indiana furnished an aggregate of 208,367 men, of whom all but about 17,000 were volunteers. Every call was met promptly and fully, no deficiencies being left to be filled on subsequent calls, and the excess, after the quotas had been filled, varying from two thousand to thirty thousand. This record is a splendid and perpetual proof of the patriotism of the people of Indiana, and it also reflects imperishable honor on the name of Oliver P. Morton, to whose personal ability and exertions these great results were so largely due.

VETERAN RE-ENLISTMENTS.

Another evidence of his military foresight and fertility of resources is found in the matter of veteran re-enlistments. The policy adopted at the beginning of the war of accepting men for short terms of enlistment proved to be unfortunate and embarrassing in many respects. It is easy to see how the constant expiration of enlistments would demoralize and weaken the army. The Government authorities underrated the magnitude of the rebellion, and perhaps, also, the patriotism of the people. The idea that the war could be brought to a conclusion in a few months was the parent of many blunders, one of the most serious of which was the receiving of volunteers for three, six, and nine months. During the first two years of the war the Government was greatly embarrassed by

this policy, and its military resources constantly weakened by expiring terms of enlistments. The only three years' men enlisted during the first two years of the war were those under the second call, and their term of service would expire in the summer of 1864. These war-worn veterans were the main-stay of the Government, and the prospect of their retirement from the service was very discouraging. Governor Morton was deeply impressed with the necessity of keeping them, or as many of them as possible, in the army, and during the winters of 1862-3 was in frequent communication with the Government authorities on this subject. This was the darkest period of the war. The rebels were confident and aggressive. The Union army was being weakened by expiring enlistments and desertions, not to speak of the heavy casualties of war. Rebel emissaries were actively at work urging recognition abroad, and fostering dissension in the North. Recruiting was difficult, and many true patriots began to have misgivings of the result. But Governor Morton never doubted nor wavered. He maintained that the Government could and must suppress the rebellion; that all that was needed was to recruit the armies to a point that would render them irresistible, and then adopt a vigorous and aggressive policy. Time and again, in person and by letter, he urged his idea upon the Government authorities, accompanying it with a plan for veteran re-enlistments. At length his suggestion took root. On the 25th of June, 1863, the War Department issued an order for recruiting veteran volunteers, offering certain inducements and prescribing details. It did not work well, and the veteran re-enlistments under it were comparatively few. Still Governor Morton adhered to his idea. Some three months later, in September, 1863, he wrote to the Secretary of War suggesting another plan. He stated that quite a number of Indiana regiments then in the field were so much reduced as to have less than one hundred and fifty effective men. He suggested that one regiment from each Congressional district in the State, to be selected by the Governor, should be permitted to come home and rendezvous in their respective districts for recruitment and re-organization. His idea was, that allowing the men to visit their homes would inspire them, and that

nearly every man would become a recruiting officer among his friends and acquaintances. This suggestion was adopted to the extent of allowing one non-commissioned officer or private from each company, to be selected by the regimental commander, to come home on recruiting service, and an order to this effect was issued October 23, 1863. This worked well, and resulted in securing a large number of new men. The work of re-enlisting veterans in the field, however, went on slowly till November, when the War Department issued an order allowing "a furlough of at least thirty days previous to "expiration of their original enlistment," this stipulation to be entered upon the re-enlistment rolls and the men to be furnished with transportation to and from their homes at government expense. This modification was well received, and under it re-enlistments went on rapidly. Thus, this idea, originated and persistently adhered to by Governor Morton, became at last a source of great military strength to the Government.

HIS INFLUENCE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION.

From the beginning of the war Governor Morton had great influence with the National administration. This was due partly to his recognized position as a leader of the Republican party, but more, doubtless, to the remarkable energy, judgment and sagacity which he displayed. He was the trusted friend and counselor of Lincoln and Stanton. His frequent visits to Washington brought him into close personal contact and constant correspondence with both of these great men, and they never failed to seek his advice on every pending question of importance. In October, 1862, he was in Washington on business connected with the war department. The President had, as usual, conferred freely with him concerning the conduct of the war, the state of popular feeling, etc. Governor Morton had expressed himself with his usual force to the effect that the people and the cause demanded more energy in the prosecution of the war. His conversation with the President left him in rather a

depressed state of mind, and after going to the hotel he wrote the following:

"METROPOLITAN HOTEL, WASHINGTON, October 7, 1862.

"His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:

"DEAR SIR: I could not leave the city without addressing you this note, and my intense solicitude for the success of our cause must be my apology.

"In my opinion, if our arms do not make great progress within the next sixty days, our cause will be almost lost. * * * * The danger of foreign intervention is daily increasing. The length of time which the rebels have maintained their Government and the success of their arms are rapidly furnishing foreign nations with an excuse to do what they have desired to do from the first—to recognize the Confederacy, and aid it in whatever way they can. You have now immense armies in the field, and all that they require to achieve victory is, that they be led with energy and discretion. The cold professional leader, whose heart is not in the cause, and who regards it as only a professional job, and whose rank and importance would be greatly diminished by the conclusion of the war, will not succeed in a contest like this. I would rely with infinitely more confidence upon the man of strong intellect, whose head is inspired by his heart, who believes that our cause is sacred, and that he is fighting for all that is dear to him and his country, although he be unlearned in military science, than upon the cold and polished professional soldier, whose sympathies, if he have any, are most likely on the other side. It is my solemn conviction that we will never succeed until the leadership of our armies is placed in the hands of men who are greatly in earnest, and who are profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause. Let me beg of you, sir, as I am your friend, a friend of your administration, and the friend of our unfortunate and unhappy country, that you will at once take up the consideration of this subject, and act upon the inspiration of your own heart and the dictates of your own judgment. Another three months like the last six and we are lost—lost. We can not afford to experiment a single day longer with men who have failed continuously for a whole year, who, with the best appointed armies, have done nothing; have thrown away the greatest advantages; evacuated whole states, and retreated for hundreds of miles before an inferior enemy. To try them longer, trusting that they may yet do something, it seems to me, would be imperiling the life of the nation. You have generals in your armies who have displayed ability, energy and willingness to fight and conquer the enemy. Place them in command, and reject the wicked incapables whom you have patiently tried and found utterly wanting.

"I am, with sentiments of great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"OLIVER P. MORTON."

Quite early in the war Governor Morton was impressed with the fact that the opening of the Mississippi river was of

vital importance in a political as well as military point of view. Not only would it sever the Confederacy and cut off a large source of supplies, but it would prove to the people that come what might, the Government intended to hold the great commercial artery of the continent. Throughout the West this was regarded as a matter of prime importance, though naturally enough it did not attract so much attention in the East, where the nearer field of operations in Virginia absorbed all other interests. In the early part of 1862 there began to be considerable talk among western Democrats of forming a Northwestern Confederacy, to act in concert with the Southern States, and to hold the Mississippi river in common. It was one of the means adopted by them to demoralize the public mind, undermine the patriotism of the people, and defeat the efforts of the Government to preserve the Union. Little or nothing was heard of this talk in the East, but in the West it was quite common. On the 27th of October, 1862, Governor Morton addressed a letter to President Lincoln on this subject, in which, after referring to the Northwestern Confederacy plan, and to the use which Democratic politicians were making of it, he said :

“ Let us take security against it if possible, especially, when by so doing, we shall be pursuing the surest mode for crushing out the rebellion in every part, and restoring the Union to its former limits. The plan which I have to suggest is the complete clearing out of all obstacles to the navigation of the Mississippi river and the thorough conquest of the States upon the western bank. Between the State of Missouri and the Gulf of Mexico on the western bank are the States of Arkansas and Louisiana. Arkansas has a population of about 325,000 white citizens and 111,000 slaves, and a very large per centage of her white population are in the rebel army, and serving east of the Mississippi. Of the fighting population of Western Louisiana, not less than fifty per cent. are in the rebel army, and in service east of the river. The river once in our possession, and occupied by our gun-boats, can never be crossed by a rebel army, and the fighting men now without those States could not get back to their relief. To make the conquest of those States thorough and complete, your proclamation should be executed in every county and every township and upon every plantation. All this can be done within ninety days, with an army of less than 100,000 men. Texas would then be entirely isolated from the rebel confederacy, and would readily fall into our hands. She has, undoubtedly, a large Union element in her population, and with her complete separation from the people of the other rebel States, could make but feeble resistance. When this shall have been accomplished, a glance

"at the map will show what immense advantages will have been obtained. "The remaining rebel States, separated by the river, would be cut off effectually from all the Territories and the States of Mexico. The dangers to be apprehended from the French aggressions in Mexico would be avoided. "The entire western part of the continent now belonging to the Government would be secured to us, and all communication between the rebel States and the States on the Pacific entirely stopped. The work of conquest in Arkansas and Louisiana would be easy and certain, and the presence of our gun-boats in the river would effectually prevent any large force from coming from the East to the relief of these States. The complete emancipation that could and should be made of all the slaves in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, would place the possession of those States on a very different footing from any other rebel territory which we have heretofore overrun. "But another result to be gained by the accomplishment of this plan, will be the creation of a guaranty against the further depreciation of the loyalty of the North-western States by giving the assurance that, whatever may be the result of the war, the free navigation and control of the Mississippi river will be secured at all events."

These are the views of a statesman. They show that the writer saw not only the necessity of putting an end to the North-western Confederacy agitation, but the vital importance to the Government of splitting the Southern Confederacy by opening the Mississippi river, which Jefferson Davis at the beginning of the war had declared "the South would never surrender." And so, in every emergency, Governor Morton was either called into the councils of the Government or expressed his views freely to the President and Secretary of War, sometimes in person and sometimes by letter. The appreciation of his services was attested by frequent expressions from those high in authority, some of which are quoted further on.

THE HUNDRED DAYS' MOVEMENT.

Another instance of Governor Morton's fertility of resources is found in the history of "The Hundred Days' Movement." The year 1864 opened under gloomy auspices. The result of the conflict hung in the balance, and it was evident that every effort would have to be put forth by the government during the ensuing campaign if it expected to maintain its ground and press the enemy. Generals Grant and Sherman were urging that every able-bodied soldier should be sent to the

front. The grand Atlanta and Richmond campaigns were about to be opened, which, if successful, there was reason to hope, would virtually end the war. But to this end a great and united effort was necessary. General Sherman was in almost constant telegraphic correspondence with Governor Morton, his main reliance in the West, exchanging views and offering advice in regard to the equipment and forwarding of troops. About this time Governor Morton conceived an idea which took shape and culminated in important results. His aim was to devise a plan by which all the trained soldiers could be sent to the front for active service during the summer campaign, and their places be supplied by new men enlisted for a short period, who could thus relieve more experienced troops by guarding communications, supply depots, etc. It was a happy idea, but in order to give it the greatest effectiveness other Western States must co-operate with Indiana. The plan was fully matured in Governor Morton's mind, and had been freely talked over with members of his military staff, when Governor Brough, of Ohio, happening to be in Indianapolis on private business, Governor Morton laid his plan before that official, and urged its adoption. Governor Brough saw its importance, and at once approved it. It was agreed between them that a meeting of Northwestern Governors should be held at Washington as soon as possible, and a co-operative plan of action agreed upon. This was the origin of "The Hundred Days' Movement." This was early in April, 1864. On the 11th, dispatches were sent from Indianapolis to the Governors of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan, inviting them to meet the Governors of Ohio and Indiana at Indianapolis, on the 22d, to consult on important public business. The meeting was held, all of the Governors above named being present except the Governor of Michigan, who was prevented by sickness. At this meeting Governor Morton's suggestion was freely discussed, and a plan of operations agreed upon, when the Governors proceeded immediately to Washington to urge its adoption by the Government. The result of their mission is shown in the following proposition and acceptance:

"To the President of the United States:

"I. The Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Michigan offer
"to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign, as follows:

Ohio.....	30,000
Indiana.....	20,000
Illinois.....	20,000
Iowa.....	10,000
Wisconsin.....	5,000

"II. The term of service to be one hundred days, reckoned from the
"date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.

"III. The troops to be mustered into the United States service by regi-
"ments, when the regiments are filled up, according to regulations, to the
"minimum strength—the regiments to be organized according to the regu-
"lations of the War Department. The whole number to be furnished within
"twenty days from the date of notice of the acceptance of this proposition.

"IV. The troops to be clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, transported,
"and paid as other United States infantry volunteers, and to serve in forti-
"fications, or wherever else their services may be required, within or with-
"out their respective States.

"V. No bounty to be paid the troops, nor the service charged or credited
"to any draft.

"VI. The draft for three years' services to go on in any State or district
"where the quota is not filled up; but if any officer or soldier in this spe-
"cial service should be drafted, he shall be credited for the service rendered.

"JOHN BROUGH, Governor of Ohio.

"O. P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana.

"RICHARD YATES, Governor of Illinois.

"WM. M. STONE, Governor of Iowa.

"JAMES T. LEWIS, Governor of Wisconsin.

"The foregoing proposition of the Governors is accepted, and the Secre-
"tary of War is directed to carry it into execution.

"April 24, 1864.

A. LINCOLN."

The acceptance of this proposition was telegraphed to Indianapolis even before the fact was published, and a call was immediately issued for the troops. The other States joined heartily in the movement, and the result was that a large force of hundred days' men was furnished to relieve from guard duty the veteran troops, who were so much needed at the front. The sole credit of originating this important move-
ment belongs to Governor Morton.

HIS MEASURES OF STATE DEFENCE.

But Governor Morton's military zeal did not stop with responding to the calls of the General Government. His energy seemed to know no bounds, and the more he accomplished the more he desired to accomplish. While contributing so largely and constantly to the National army, he organized an effective military force in Indiana to meet emergencies which he foresaw would arise. The position of Indiana as a border State, the disloyal attitude of Kentucky, and the disaffection existing in some of the Southern counties convinced him at the beginning of the war that there would be need of a State militia, to repel hostile incursions and protect the State. At a special session in 1861, the Legislature passed, May 11th, an act for the organization of the militia, dividing the whole arms-bearing population in the State into active and sedentary militia, under the name and style of the Indiana Legion. Shortly after the passage of this act, Governor Morton took steps for the organization of the Legion. Competent officers were detailed for the work and a camp of instruction was established at Indianapolis. This movement resulted in the enrollment of about 50,000 men, and supplied a force that rendered effective service on various occasions in repelling invasions, guarding prisoners, and preserving the peace of the State. For a long period before the war the State had no militia law, and the work of organizing and regulating a State militia was one of great difficulty; but it was successfully accomplished even amid the enormous pressure of other duties, and more than once during the war the Indiana Legion became an important factor in military operations.

GOVERNOR MORTON'S RELATIONS TO KENTUCKY.

The course pursued by Kentucky during the war will be well remembered by most readers. While a large majority of her people were unquestionably in favor of the Union, there was also a strong and active rebel sentiment. At the beginning of the war she had a disloyal governor, Beriah Magoffin,

and the Union people of the North feared the worst results from his treachery. It was especially important to Indiana that Kentucky should remain in the Union, as in the event of her secession, or of the rebels gaining a permanent foothold there, the war would almost certainly have been transferred to Indiana. In his message to the special session of the Legislature in April, 1861, Governor Morton said :

“To our sister state of Kentucky we turn with hope and affection. She has grown rich and prosperous in the Republic; could she do more if she were out of it? It would be a sad day that would sever the bond which binds these states together, and place us in separate and hostile nations. I appeal to her by the ties of our common kindred and history; by our community of interest, by the sacred obligations that bind us to maintain the Constitution inviolate, to adhere to the Union, and stand fast by that flag in defense of which she has so often shed her best blood. I pray her to examine her past history and perceive how the tide of her prosperity has flowed on unbroken, and ever increasing, until her limits are filled with material wealth and her people are respected, elevated and happy; and then inquire if all this is not the result of that Union she is called upon to break, and of that government she is invited to dishonor and overthrow. To ask Kentucky to secede, is to ask her to commit foul dishonor and suicide. I trust that the good sense and patriotism of her people will not suffer her to be dragged by the current of events, which has been cunningly invented for that purpose, into the vortex of disunion; nor permit her to be artfully inveigled into an armed neutrality between the rebellious states and the Federal Government. Such a position would be anomalous and fatal to the peace and perpetuity of the Union. There is no ground in the Constitution midway between a rebellious state and the Federal Government upon which she can stand, holding both in check and restraining the Government from the enforcement of the laws and the exercise of its constitutional authority. Such an attitude is at once unconstitutional and hostile. At a time like this, if she is not for the Government, aiding and maintaining it by the observance of all her constitutional obligations, she is against it. If the voice of her people can be heard, I fear not the result. Secession can only triumph, as it has triumphed in other states, by stifling the voice of the people, and by the bold usurpation, by demagogues and traitors, of the powers which rightly fully belong to them alone.”

These sentiments met with no response in the heart of Kentucky's Governor, and the Union men of that State soon found they had nothing to hope for from him. To President Lincoln's first call for troops he responded with an insolent refusal, and took occasion to air his treason under the guise of “Kentucky neutrality.” His heart was with the rebels,

and most of his personal associates were open sympathizers with treason. Though he could not carry Kentucky out of the Union, he succeeded for a time in preventing her from doing her duty as part of it. His senseless prate about "armed neutrality" became odious throughout the loyal North, and fixed a stain upon Kentucky's name from which it has scarcely yet recovered. Finally, in May, 1861, he actually issued a proclamation, in which he said:

"I hereby notify and warn all other States, separate or united, and especially the United and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement on Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein, for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative or executive authorities."

As there was no imminent danger at that time of a Southern army marching North, the evident purpose of this proclamation was to prevent the United States forces from entering or passing through the State to reach the rebels. About the middle of June General McClellan actually made a treaty with Governor Magoffin, virtually recognizing Kentucky's "neutrality," and binding the Government to allow no troops to enter on Kentucky soil "unless invited to do so by the state authorities." It is needless to say that this policy and these events utterly demoralized the Union men of Kentucky. Some of them lost heart altogether, and were cajoled or forced into abandoning their views. Others adopted a sort of middle course, which gave rise to the term "Kentucky Unionism." Others, still, and they were a majority, remained true to the flag. At an early day, however, they lost all faith in Magoffin, and looked to Governor Morton for counsel, aid and succor.

From the day of the firing on Fort Sumter Governor Morton recognized the vital importance both in a political and military point of view, of holding Kentucky in the Union, and was untiring in his efforts to this end. Early in May, 1861, he prepared a memorial to the President, in which the Governors of Ohio and Illinois joined, urging the Government "at an early day to take possession, in force, of prominent points in Kentucky, such as Louisville, Covington, Newport, Columbus, etc., and the railroads leading from

"them to the South." For this work they recommended that loyal Kentuckians should be used if they could be found, and they added :

"If Kentuckians can not be found, United States regulars would be the next best for the purpose ; but in our judgment they should be occupied at an early day, if it has to be done by the volunteer forces from adjoining states. We believe this course will save Kentucky to the Union, otherwise that in the end the secessionists will control her."

But the Government was slow to move, and "Kentucky neutrality" was treated very tenderly. In June, 1861, the gallant and loyal Rousseau determined to raise a force of Kentucky Unionists, and received authority from the President to that end. At a public meeting, however, held in Louisville, it was decided that the encampment ought not to be in Kentucky, and Rousseau was accordingly invited to establish his camp and rendezvous at Jeffersonville, in this State. Thus Indiana furnished the first rallying point for the Kentucky Unionists. At this time Governor Morton was in constant communication with General Rousseau and other loyal Kentuckians, encouraging and aiding them by every means in his power. He gave permission to citizens of Indiana to enlist in Kentucky regiments, and allowed a company of cavalry in Knox county and one in Dearborn county to be recruited for a Kentucky regiment. He also exerted himself to procure arms for the Kentucky troops who, having no Governor to look after their wants, had to rely on Governor Morton for this and numberless other services. Meanwhile, events followed each other rapidly, and "Kentucky neutrality" was swept out of sight. The new Legislature having by a large majority decided to remain in the Union, the rebels determined to invade the State, and in September General Zollicoffer entered it in force. This movement created wide spread alarm in Kentucky. On the 2d of October, 1861, Governor Morton issued a proclamation to the people of Indiana, in which, after reciting the invasion of Kentucky, he said :

"These rebel troops have entered the State from the southeast through the Cumberland Gap ; also, from the southwest, occupying Columbus and other points, but chiefly from the direction of Nashville, toward Louisville, seizing and holding the Nashville and Louisville road, up to within

"forty miles of Louisville. A glance at the map will show the immenso
 "importance of their position, and the advantages they have gained. From
 "their camps south of Louisville they can communicate, by railroad, with
 "every seceding State but two; and can thus transport to their aid, in a
 "few hours, men and munitions of war from every part of the South. It
 "is the determination of the invaders and conspirators to subjugate the
 "loyal people of Kentucky, and sieze for plunder and vengeance the
 "wealthy and populous cities on the border of Ohio and Indiana.

"It should require no argument or appeal now, to arouse the people of
 "Indiana to put forth all their strength. When our State was in her
 "infancy, the brave men of Kentucky came to the rescue of our people
 "from the scalping-knife of the savage, and their blood is mingled with our
 "soil on many a field. And shall we not stand by Kentucky now, in this,
 "her hour of peril? Not to do so, were base ingratitude and criminal
 "folly. We can best defend Indiana by repelling the invader from Ken-
 "tucky, and carry the war thence to the hearts of the rebellious States.

* * * * *

"I, therefore, call upon all men capable of bearing arms, and who can
 "leave their homes, to cast aside their ordinary pursuits and enroll them-
 "selves in the ranks of the army. Let the farmer leave his plow, the mer-
 "chant his store, the mechanic his workshop, the banker his exchange, and
 "the professional man his office, and devote themselves to their country,
 "and by enrolling themselves either in the armies of the General Govern-
 "ment or under the military law of the State, be prepared to defend their
 "country and their homes. Every man in the State capable of bearing
 "arms should be in the service of the General Government or the State.
 "Let personal ease and private interests submit to the overruling necessities
 "of the hour, and let us show the world, by the sacrifices we are willing to
 "make in person and property, that we are worthy of our sires, and deserve
 "to retain the inheritance they have bequeathed to us."

At this time Indiana's quota was already more than full, but this appeal gave a new impulse to volunteering and resulted in large accessions to the Union forces. The troops now recruited were speedily organized, equipped and sent into Kentucky, some of them joining Buell's command south of Louisville, and others going to meet Zollicoffer in the south-east. Without tracing in detail the movements that followed, it is enough to say that they ended in completely breaking the rebel power in Kentucky, and driving them from the State. Governor Morton's energy in this emergency was universally recognized as of immense value to Kentucky and the Union cause.

So, also, when General Kirby Smith made his formidable

raid into Kentucky, in August, 1862, the Unionists of Kentucky and the officers in command turned at once to Governor Morton for aid. August 10, General Boyle telegraphed him that the rebels were invading Kentucky, and begged him to send any forces he could possibly spare. On the 11th he sent seven companies, fully armed and equipped, to Frankfort. On the same day, in compliance with General Boyle's requisition, he sent two car loads of ammunition to Frankfort, from the Indiana arsenal. On the 12th a dispatch came from General Buell, urging Governor Morton to forward all the troops he could to General Boyle in Kentucky. On the 13th a full regiment left Indianapolis for Louisville, and reported to the commanding officer at Bowling Green on the 15th. On the 16th another regiment was sent, and still another on the 17th. During the next ten days troops were forwarded at the rate of from one to three regiments per day. At this time an incident occurred, illustrative of Governor Morton's fertility of resources and promptness of action. While every nerve was being strained to get troops into Kentucky a difficulty arose from the fact that the funds to pay the advance bounty to which a certain regiment was entitled had not been forwarded from Washington. Many of the men had left their homes suddenly, without providing for the maintenance of their families, expecting to receive the stipulated bounty-money in time to remit it before going to the field. They felt a natural reluctance to leaving the State, with the chances of battle in the immediate future, unless the wants of their families could be at least temporarily provided for. Governor Morton addressed the troops, explaining the urgent necessity of their instant departure, and proposed to send the money to them as soon as it could be obtained. Every murmur was hushed, and the men, with cheerful alacrity, shouldered their guns and started for the front. On the morning of the 19th, the Governor effected an arrangement with citizens and bankers of Indianapolis and Cincinnati for an advance of nearly half a million dollars, and during that day and the succeeding night four regiments were mustered, paid and started for Kentucky. By the next evening three more regiments had been paid and started. The bounty-money due the regiment which left

without being paid was forwarded to Kentucky and paid them on the Richmond battle field, half an hour before the action opened.

The battle of Richmond, fought on the 29th and 30th of August, 1862, though resulting disastrously to the Union troops, checked General Smith's advance, and gave time to put Cincinnati, which was his objective point, in a state of defense. In this battle there were six Indiana, one Kentucky and one Ohio regiment, besides some Kentucky cavalry. The opposing force was nearly three times as great. The Indiana troops had only been in the service from two to three weeks; the rebels were veterans. In a dispatch to President Lincoln, dated Sept. 1, General Boyle said:

"Our troops, especially the Indianians, fought with the courage and gallantry of veterans. If Ohio and Illinois had supported Indiana, and had sent their troops on, the issue of the battle would have been different. Governor Morton has sent to this state since I have been in command here over twenty thousand men. If other states had done so well we could have overwhelmed the enemy. I deplore the loss that noble Indiana has sustained under the circumstances. It was important to meet the enemy before he reached the center of the state or crossed it, and Indiana, appreciating the importance of it, sent her gallant soldiers to meet the foe, no doubt feeling that they would be supported by Ohio, Illinois and Kentucky."

Again, in May, 1864, when Morgan invaded Kentucky, General Burbridge telegraphed to Governor Morton for four regiments. The response was: "One regiment leaves to-night, another to-morrow, and two more next day." A fortnight later word came from Louisville: "The city is in danger. We want four or five thousand men." Troops were sent immediately. The same day General Hobson telegraphed from Covington for "any troops you can send me to Louisville or Frankfort." Kentucky had then taken every man of Indiana's troops that the Governor had. He called out the militia of several counties, and placed it in the best position for service either at home or across the Ohio. A regiment of re-enlisted veterans, arriving at Indianapolis on the short furlough given to re-enlisted men, at once volunteered to go to Kentucky, and were promptly sent to the relief of Governor Bramlette, besieged in Frankfort. A portion of the Indiana

Legion was sent to guard the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. By every effort, and at every point, Indiana threw herself forward to protect Kentucky. Thus repeatedly and in every emergency Governor Morton came to the rescue of Kentucky during the war, until he actually became known in familiar parlance as the Governor of Indiana and Kentucky. His great services in this regard were fully appreciated at the time, and are still remembered by the Union men of Kentucky. In acknowledging them after one of the invasions above referred to, the Louisville Journal (the lamented George D. Prentice being the writer) said:

"He has been emphatically Kentucky's guardian spirit from the very commencement of the dangers that threatened her existence. Kentucky and the whole country owe him a large debt of gratitude. Oh, that all the public functionaries of the country were as vigilant, as clear-sighted, as energetic, as fearless, as chivalric as he."

The Lexington Observer said:

"There is no man in the nation to whom Kentucky owes a larger debt of gratitude than to Governor Morton, of Indiana. * * * She is under an obligation to him that she will never forget. It has been well that, having virtually no Governor of her own, she could find so invaluable a friend in the Governor of a neighboring State."

And only recently a prominent Kentucky Unionist writes:

"What Kentucky Union soldier, whose heart does not bound at the mention of his name? I recollect well, as do hundreds of others, when the regiment to which I was attached would have starved to death, after a long and bloody battle, but for his promptness, energy, and determination. He took the responsibility when other men would have hesitated and halted, and our regiment have gone to pieces?"

"How easy it is to forget! In how many critical emergencies did this man step to the front just in the nick of time and save us. No wonder rebels hate him. He was an army in himself. His influence, which pervaded the Nation, inspired every State, placed Indiana at the topmost pinnacle of honor and glory, and saved Kentucky. Kentucky was a sort of an orphan during the rebellion—a lone child, over whose inheritance relatives furiously were fighting, while it was likely to die of starvation and neglect. But for Morton's sheltering wing, they would have divided our garments and cast lots for our inheritance, thrusting us naked into the pit."

HIS CARE FOR SOLDIERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

No sketch of Governor Morton's military administration would be complete without at least a reference to the admirable system which he organized and conducted for the relief of soldiers and their families. This feature of his administration was prominent from the beginning of the war, and finally became so conspicuous as to excite scarcely less admiration than his energy in raising and equipping troops. By his persistent efforts the first Indiana troops put in the field were better equipped than those of any other State. In the fall of 1861, being unable to get a supply of overcoats from the General Government in time to protect the men from approaching winter, he went to New York and purchased twenty-nine thousand overcoats. For a portion he paid the regular government price, \$7 75, and for the remainder \$9 25 each. They were immediately forwarded, and the men made comfortable. On presentation of the bill, the Quartermaster General refused to pay more than the regulation price on any of the coats, leaving the difference of \$1 50 on a large number of coats to be settled by the State. When informed of this decision, Governor Morton replied, "Indiana will not allow her troops to suffer if it be in her power to prevent it, and if the General Government will not purchase supplies at current rates, *Indiana will.*" And that was his spirit from the beginning. But cold weather was approaching. It was the first winter of the war, and the men were not yet accustomed to the hardships nor inured to the exposure of campaign life. They needed many things, some of which the government could not furnish rapidly enough, and some of which were unknown to the regulations. To meet this want, the Governor issued a proclamation to the patriotic women of Indiana, calling on them to do what they could for their sons and brothers in the field. They were requested, either singly or by associations, to set about the manufacture of woolen shirts, drawers, socks and gloves. He said :

"The sewing societies of our churches have a wide field for exertion, wider and grander than they will ever find again. Will they not give their

"associations for a time to this beneficent object? The numerous female "benevolent societies, by giving their energies and organizations to this "work, can speedily provide the necessary supply. Let women through the "country, who have no opportunity to join such associations, emulate each "other in their labors, and see who shall do most for their country and its "defenders in this hour of trial."

In response to this appeal, an immense quantity of the above mentioned articles and other comforts were contributed by the women, and forwarded to the soldiers. This was the first organized effort of any State to make special provisions for its soldiers, and was the forerunner of all the sanitary commissions. By degrees it expanded into a system whose beneficent operations were felt in all the armies of the Union. Governor Morton also organized the "General Military Agency of Indiana," for the special benefit of Indiana soldiers. A gentleman of well known energy and probity of character was appointed General Agent, to whom was entrusted the receipt and distribution of all sanitary supplies, the supervision of local Agencies, and the direction of all matters relating to the relief of soldiers. A large number of local and field agents were appointed. The former had local officers at various points near the field of operations. They were required to make their offices the homes of soldiers; to assist them in getting transportation in returning home, when they had no money or Government passes; to provide them clothing when, as was too often the case, they were ragged and necessitous; to feed them; to facilitate every proper purpose; to take charge of returning prisoners, and to provide everything which their shocking destitution demanded; and, in short, to exercise a careful guardianship over Indiana soldiers in every possible way. Field agents were expected not only to look after the health and comfort of the men, but to write letters, to take charge of commissions for them to their friends and relatives, to see to the burial of the dead, and the preservation of relics, to keep registers of the names of all men in hospitals, with date of entry, disease or injury, and, in case of death, the date and cause, and other information that might be of interest to the friends. The amount of good done by the State Military Agency and the State Sanitary Commission is incalculable. They found out Indiana

soldiers in every field and in every prison. Wherever a Hoosier boy was heard of in want or suffering, these humane organizations managed to reach him. They were on every battle-field, and the echoes of the cannon had hardly died away before Indiana's agents were there looking for Indiana soldiers. Through the Sanitary Commission enormous quantities of fruit and vegetables were distributed among Indiana regiments. Nor did they confine their attentions exclusively to Indiana soldiers, though these were given the preference. Their instructions were to assist and relieve the soldiers of other States, whenever it could be done consistently with their first duty to those of Indiana, and many a boy in blue from other States has had occasion to bless Governor Morton, for attentions received from his Sanitary or Military Agents. Amid all his other cares Governor Morton found time to give considerable personal attention and supervision to these noble charities. By tongue and pen he cheered and inspired the people, while the vigor of his administration in this regard, as in others, made itself felt through the whole body politic. Local societies and organizations were formed, and a regular system of competitive patriotism inaugurated. In one of his proclamations on this subject Governor Morton said :

"An effective working committee in each ward and township should be at once selected, with such assistants and sub-committees as may be necessary, who can easily ascertain the number of families within their limits requiring aid, and estimate the quantity, kind and cost of all supplies needed during the winter. Contributions can be taken up accordingly. In this work the township trustees, and the officers of the various churches, will doubtless lend a willing hand. Especially do I desire that ministers of the gospel should present this subject to their respective congregations, and co-operate, as far as possible, in carrying out the general plan of relief."

In another proclamation, calling for additional volunteers, he said :

"Upon those who remain at home, I would urge the solemn duty of making provisions for the families of those who have or may hereafter enter the army. The soldier in the field should have the sweet assurance that his wife and children, and all who are dependent upon his labor for a living, will be provided with sufficient food and clothing. Such an assurance would nerve his arm in the hour of battle and enable him to bear with cheerfulness the hardships and privations of a soldier's life.

"It would be a lasting disgrace to our people if the family of any soldier should want for bread or raiment while our country is full to overflowing with all the necessities of life."

By such appeals and by continually suggesting some new plan of organized effort he kept the patriotism of the people in constant activity, and secured really marvelous results. Men, women, and children seemed to vie with each other in their efforts; loyal ministers of the gospel lent their powerful aid to the movement and the whole machinery of society was placed at the disposal of the Governor to further his patriotic plans. Indiana's noble action in this regard won for the State almost as much reputation as the valor of her soldiers, and was the theme of general comment. The regular correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing to that paper from Fredericksburg, under date of December 18, 1862, immediately after the battle, said:

"The peculiar and constant attention to the troops his State has sent out so promptly, is the prominent feature of Governor Morton's most admirable administration. In all our armies, from Kansas to the Potomac, wherever I have met Indiana troops, I have encountered some officer of Governor Morton, going about among them, inquiring especially as to their needs, both in camp and hospital, and performing those thousand offices the soldier so often requires. Would that the same tender care could be extended to every man from whatever State, who is fighting the battles of the Republic."

In his annual message to the Ohio Legislature, in 1864, Governor Brough spoke in the warmest terms of commendation of the Indiana State Agencies and urged the adoption of the same system in Ohio. The people of Indiana were especially proud of the Governor's labors in this regard. The total amount contributed to, and distributed by, the Sanitary Commission, from its organization to its close, was \$606,570. These were the voluntary offerings of the people. In addition to this, the princely sum of \$4,566,898 was contributed by counties, townships, cities and towns for the relief of soldiers' families and soldiers discharged by reason of wounds and disease. In this great movement Governor Morton's inspiring influence was constantly felt and his patriotic appeals kept the people stirred up to this work as they did to that of volunteering.

In addition to the stated efforts of the organizations above named Governor Morton sent special relief expeditions after every battle in which Indiana soldiers were engaged. During the year 1863 seven such missions were performed, a loaded steamer being sent in each case. The first took 540 packages of stores, twenty-five nurses, and twenty-one surgeons; the second took 1,000 packages of stores and several nurses and surgeons; the third, 500 packages, with nurses and surgeons, etc. In each case these steamers brought back sick and wounded soldiers from the South-west.

OBTAINS ADDITIONAL ARMY SURGEONS.

On the 21st of April, 1862, just before the battle of Corinth, Governor Morton telegraphed the Secretary of War as follows:

"That a great battle is impending at Corinth, is evident. Before additional surgical aid can reach the field from any quarter, five or six days will elapse. Meanwhile the wounded must suffer immensely. So it was at Donelson and Pittsburg. Indiana has at least twenty-four regiments before the enemy. I propose to send at once to each of them *two* additional surgeons, and respectfully request authority from you to do so. I regard this as an absolute necessity."

Heretofore each regiment had been allowed only one surgeon and one assistant. Experience had shown this medical force to be entirely inadequate, especially during or immediately after a severe battle. This was especially the case after the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh, and now as another one was impending, Governor Morton proposed to make better provision, at least for the Indiana soldiers. His appeal to the Secretary of War was granted, the necessary authority given, and the requisite number of surgeons immediately selected and dispatched to the field, with instructions to remain as long as their services were required. This action gave so much satisfaction that on the 2d of July, 1862, Congress passed an act providing that instead of *one* assistant surgeon, as provided by a former law, each regiment of volunteers in the service of the United States should have *two* assistant surgeons. Thus Governor Morton's thoughtful foresight and care of Indiana troops resulted in this important change for the benefit of the whole army.

HIS CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

The foregoing pages furnish abundant evidence of Governor Morton's remarkable executive ability, but the record would be very incomplete without a reference to his civil administration during the period of the war. In most of the Northern States this was a mere matter of ordinary routine, but in Indiana it was attended by complications of the gravest character, and difficulties which to most men would have seemed insuperable. The war record of Indiana is a monument more enduring than brass to the loyalty and patriotism of her people who stood by the Government; but there was another class whose memory equally merits preservation as having done all in their power to embarrass and cripple the efforts of Governor Morton to uphold the authority of the Nation. If the noble sacrifices of the former are worthy to be honored as long as the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism survive in the breasts of men, the infamous conduct of the latter deserves to be held up for execration to the last syllable of recorded time. There were disloyal men and Democratic rebel sympathizers in nearly all the Northern States, but nowhere were they so numerous, malignant, active and well organized as in Indiana. For a little while after the firing on Fort Sumter the voices of these domestic traitors were hushed in the great roar of public patriotism, but they soon recovered confidence, and entered on a course of political intrigue and revolutionary plotting, which was kept up during the whole war. In proportion as Governor Morton showed himself energetic and vigorous in his war policy, these men hated and maligned him, and sought to defeat his plans. They exerted themselves to weaken our armies by encouraging desertion, by discouraging or forcibly resisting recruiting, and by crippling the efforts of the State authorities to send reinforcements into the field. They held meetings and conventions, and passed resolutions denouncing the war. They labored to produce discontent and even disloyalty among the soldiers by sending them papers and letters condemning the war, urging desertion and promising protection to deserters. In nearly every county of the

State they formed an organization for resisting the draft, protecting deserters and obstructing enlistments. Finally, they organized a secret treasonable society known as the "Sons of Liberty," for the express purpose of aiding the rebellion and, if possible, transferring the war to Indiana soil. During the winter of 1861-62, and the summer of 1863, the disloyal sentiment was very active. County and local meetings were held in many parts of the State, which declared the war "cruel and unnecessary," denounced President Lincoln as a "tyrant and usurper," Union soldiers as "Lincoln hirelings," etc.

In the fall of 1862, the Democrats carried the State, electing a Democratic Legislature. It was a thoroughly disloyal Legislature, the Democrats having a majority of six in the Senate and twenty-four in the House. The first thing they did after assembling was to decline to receive Governor Morton's message, and to pass a joint resolution tendering thanks to Governor Seymour, of New York, for "the exalted and patriotic sentiments contained in his recent message." The message of Governor Morton was full of important matter, and was dignified and patriotic in tone; but these Indiana copperheads rejected it, and indorsed instead the congenial utterances of the Democratic Governor of New York. This was the key-note of the whole action of the Legislature. They adopted resolutions denouncing "arbitrary arrests," and declared that Indiana would not "voluntarily contribute another man or another dollar to be used for such wicked, inhuman and unholy purposes" as the prosecution of the war. They instructed the Senators and requested the Representatives in Congress from Indiana to take measures to suspend hostilities, and declared in favor of receiving the Southern States back into the Union "on a liberal compromise, granting them ungrudgingly all their constitutional rights and privileges, with such additional safeguards as may be necessary to protect them in those rights." They refused to entertain a proposition to allow soldiers in the field to vote, and thus practically disfranchised the men at the front. They denounced the arming of the negroes, and resolved that "the people of the State had over and over again decided against any interference with slavery." These are but a few out of many evidences

of the rank disloyalty of this body. Finally, after having done what it could to disgrace the State and cripple the administration of Governor Morton, the Legislature adjourned without passing a single one of the appropriation bills necessary to carry on the State government. This was

A TERRIBLE CRISIS.

The country in the midst of civil war, the Government making steady demands on the States for aid, another call for troops imminent, Southern emissaries and rebel sympathizers doing all in their power to foment disturbances, and the Legislature adjourned without making any provision for the civil or military expenses of the State. In this emergency, Governor Morton had three courses open before him : first, to allow the State institutions to be closed, the interest on the State's bonds to go unpaid, and its credit to become bankrupt ; second, to call a special session of the same Legislature and endeavor to shame it into a performance of its duty ; third, to devise extraordinary means of raising money to carry along the State government and preserve its credit. He chose the latter course. He organized a Bureau of Finance, appointed a Financial Secretary, and devised a new system of State government. He appealed to the people, to private bankers and to various counties of the State to furnish funds to carry on the State government, confident that the next Legislature would be a loyal one and justify his acts. The response was prompt and liberal. Many counties made appropriations ranging from \$2,000 to \$20,000 each. Private citizens advanced a considerable sum, and one railroad company patriotically loaned \$15,000. Governor Morton went to Washington, and on his representation of the case, the General Government advanced him, as a disbursing officer, \$250,000 out of a special appropriation for military expenses. Thus, through his personal energy and efforts, funds were raised to carry on the State government, keep all the State institutions open, and defray civil and military expenses. The State officers were hostile to his administration, and he carried out his plans entirely independent of them. The Bureau of Finance

established by him continued from April, 1863, to January, 1865. The total amount of cash raised and received by Governor Morton, during this period, was \$1,026,321.31. Of this amount, he disbursed, through his Financial Secretary, for civil purposes \$199,644.93, and for military purposes \$702,420.15, making a total of \$902,065.08. Of the balance left in his hands (\$124,256.23) \$115,487.18, being part of the military fund, was paid back to the General Government, and \$8,768.95 was paid into the State treasury. Every dollar disbursed during the one year and nine months of his financial administration was paid on his check, proper and sufficient vouchers being taken in all cases. Not a dollar was lost or misappropriated. There is no similar case on record of the Governor of a State raising funds by his personal efforts to support the State Government, and carrying it along for nearly two years without any appropriations by the Legislature and without any assistance from the State officers.

It has already been stated that these latter were hostile to Governor Morton's administration. They were more than this. As Democrats they desired to see him utterly fail in his efforts to sustain the credit of the State and keep it in the front rank of loyal commonwealths. When the interest on the State debt fell due, on the 1st of July, 1863, they failed and refused to make any provision for it, hoping, thereby, to cripple and defeat the plans of Governor Morton. But he was equal to this emergency also. Discovering their purpose, he hastened to New York, and effected an arrangement with a loyal and responsible banking house to advance the sum necessary to pay the interest falling due on the date above named. But here he met another difficulty. The interest could not be paid without a list of the stock-holders. The only complete list was in the books of the State Agent at New York—a disloyal Democrat—and he refused to furnish it to the bankers, or to permit them to have access to his books. It was then proposed to him that he should pay the interest in the usual way, on his own books, the bankers to honor his checks issued therefor and to relieve him from any personal liability for moneys so paid. This offer was likewise refused. Determined not to be defeated, Governor Mor-

ton set about obtaining a list of the stockholders from outside sources, and after much labor and delay, actually succeeded in doing so. The interest was finally paid, and the State's credit saved. An arrangement was made with the same house to pay the interest falling due on the 1st of January and 1st of July, 1864, and 1st of January, 1865, and a public notice to this effect quieted the fears of foreign creditors, and placed the credit of the State higher than it ever stood before.

TREASONABLE PRACTICES AND SECRET SOCIETIES.

The foregoing pages sufficiently indicate the malignant spirit of the Indiana Democracy during the war, but they only faintly suggest the enormous difficulties which Governor Morton had to encounter from this quarter. It is no exaggeration to say that he fought two rebellions—one in the South and one in Indiana. Reference has already been made to some of the treasonable practices by which the sympathizers with rebellion sought to embarrass his administration, but all of these, wicked and nefarious they were, sink into insignificance when compared with the step in which they finally culminated. This was nothing less than the organization of a secret treasonable society, called "Knights of the Golden Circle," the undoubted purpose of which was to plunge the State into revolution and precipitate a civil war in its borders. Space would fail to relate the numerous outrages and open acts of treason perpetrated by this organization before it was discovered. In some counties Union men had been driven from their homes, their houses and barns had been burned, draft officers had been killed, squads of soldiers sent to arrest deserters had been fired upon, and companies of rebel sympathizers drilled in open day, with the avowed purpose of resisting the Government authorities. Governor Morton was the special object of their hatred. His life was repeatedly threatened. Once he was fired at as he was leaving the State House at night, the bullet grazing his head. These outrages became so frequent, and the talk of organized resistance to the draft so alarming, that in June, 1863, the Governor issued a proclamation, reciting the

act of Congress to define and punish treasonable conspiracies, and ordering the agitators to submit to the laws.

Finally, in 1864, through the efforts of Governor Morton, and an officer whom he had employed to assist him, a full exposure was made of the secret organization known as the "Knights of the Golden Circle," or "Sons of Liberty." The exposure was complete—embracing the signs, grips, passwords, oaths, ceremonies, principles and purposes of the order. The membership in the State at that time was about 50,000. Its officers had \$200,000 in their hands for the purpose of buying arms. The leaders were in close and constant communication with the rebels. An outbreak had been planned to take place in August, 1864. The arsenal at Indianapolis was to be siezed, railroad and telegraph lines to be cut, and the rebel prisoners confined here to be liberated. Governor Morton was to be captured, and, if necessary, put out of the way. The combined forces of released prisoners and Sons of Liberty were to join the rebel forces, who were to advance to meet them, in Kentucky. With such information in his possession, Governor Morton was prepared to deal this treasonable organization a crushing blow. He caused the arrest of the Grand Commander of the order in this State, the Deputy Grand Commander, and four District Commanders—all prominent Democrats. These arrests created great consternation in Democratic circles, and completely overthrew the plans of the order. It was determined to make an example of the leaders arrested. Accordingly, a military commission was organized, and they were put upon their trial for conspiracy and treason. Pending the trial the Grand Commander made his escape from the United States Court building and fled to Canada. The evidence against the others was overwhelming. One of them turned State's evidence, and disclosed all the secrets of the order. The court finally found all four of them guilty as charged, and sentenced three of them to death and one to imprisonment. The death sentence was approved, the day fixed for their execution, and preparations for it commenced, when, upon the earnest representations of Governor Morton and other prominent loyal men, the President commuted their sentence to confinement

in the Ohio penitentiary. Subsequently, after the close of the war, they were all pardoned.

It was amid such difficulties and dangers as these that Governor Morton had to move. In spite of them all, however, he held the State to its duty, and, backed by the loyal citizens, gave it a place second to none in effective support of the National Government.

HIS RE-ELECTION AS GOVERNOR.

It is hardly necessary to say that Governor Morton's management of State affairs under the manifold difficulties above related was enthusiastically approved by the Republicans of Indiana. By his vigorous and brilliant administration he had given the State more prominence than it had ever enjoyed before, elevated its credit in financial circles, and won for it golden opinions from loyal people everywhere. During the four years from 1860 to 1864 he had come to be regarded as one of the foremost men of the nation. His great services to the Union cause were universally recognized, and the Republicans in Indiana, at least, felt that he had done what no other man living could have done. Therefore, when the Republican Convention met in 1864 he was unanimously nominated for re-election. This was an important epoch in his public career, and much depended on the result of the election. Of course the main question was whether Indiana would remain true to the Republican party and the Union, but scarcely secondary to this was the question whether the Legislature would indorse Governor Morton's administration and approve the various measures he had adopted to meet emergencies forced upon him by the disloyal Democracy. All his acts had been done in the confident hope that a Legislature would be elected in 1864 which would approve them, and now the time had come for an appeal to the people. His opponent for the Governorship was Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, now a Senator from this State. Friends of both parties arranged for a joint canvass of the State, and the opening debate was appointed to take place at Laporte. The character of the occasion and the importance of the issues involved drew an immense con-

course of people, the crowd being estimated at not less than twenty thousand. His competitor was ten years his senior, a skillful debater and strong man. He had been nominated because it was thought he could cope with Morton "on the stump," but the result proved how ill founded this expectation was. The Laporte debate settled beyond all doubt the comparative ability of the two men, and in the minds of all present virtually fixed the result of the election. Governor Morton had the opening. His speech was a powerful arraignment of the Democratic party and defense of his own administration. The utter rottenness and treason of the Democracy were exposed and every measure and act of his own vindicated. It was a great and convincing speech. Mr. Joseph Medill, of the Chicago Tribune, who was present, said that one speech, scattered broadcast throughout the State, would elect Morton by 10,000 majority; and the correspondent of the New York Tribune wrote: "Nothing like it has been heard in this country since Webster's reply to Hayne." The speech was too much for McDonald, and its effect upon the audience disheartened him. His reply was virtually a failure, and the debate resulted in a great triumph for Governor Morton. His friends were prouder of him than ever, and the Democrats were correspondingly depressed. At every subsequent appointment the Laporte experience was virtually repeated. As Morton warmed to his work he rose to even higher strains of argument, while McDonald labored more and more as he noted everywhere that his antagonist was carrying the people with him. Governor Morton's speeches in this campaign were characterized by the qualities for which he was now so widely known—power of logic, force of statement, and eloquent presentation of Republican principles. He was re-elected by 20,883 majority, and the Republicans gained a majority in the Legislature. It was the grandest popular triumph ever achieved in the State.

His message to the Legislature set forth in detail all his public acts of the last two years, and was a complete exposition of the civil, military and financial affairs of the State. In conclusion he said:

"I respectfully request that a joint committee of the two Houses be "speedily appointed to investigate the civil and military expenditures I "have made since the adjournment of the last Legislature, and to examine "vouchers for the same on file in my department, and that the Legislature "will make prompt provision for the repayment of the money I have borrowed for public purposes. It was advanced from patriotic motives, with "a full reliance upon the good faith of the State for its reimbursement, and "without it the machinery of the State government could not have been "kept in motion."

Pursuant to this request, the Legislature appointed a joint committee to examine the vouchers for receipts and payments of money by the Governor. After a thorough examination, the committee found (as in his account stated) that the Governor had received \$1,036,321.31, and disbursed \$902,065.08, leaving a balance in his hands of \$124,265.23, for which he held a certificate of deposit in bank. The report of the committee was a complete vindication of the Governor's financial administration, and is a lasting tribute to his strict and unimpeachable integrity. During a time of civil war and great excitement, he raised by his personal efforts, and disbursed on his personal check, all the money used by the State government during a period of nearly two years, without the loss or misappropriation of a dollar. No public man in the United States can show a better record than this. No other can show a record to compare with it, for there is none who was ever placed in similar circumstances, or who ever achieved such great results under such enormous difficulties.

AFTER THE WAR.

Governor Morton entered his second term with unabated zeal and ardor. He was now in his forty-second year and in the prime of physical and mental strength. The vast responsibilities and labors of the last five years had developed his character to its fullest proportions. Experience had shown him to be equal to every emergency, and success had given him a confidence which was almost irresistible in itself. His energy, patriotism, executive ability and fertility of resources were a theme of general comment. His services to the State and Nation were known and honored everywhere.

In April, 1865, came the end of the war, and the assassination of President Lincoln. This last event, which so shocked the Nation and the world, was a stunning blow to Governor Morton. The relations between the martyred President and himself had been exceedingly friendly—even intimate—for some years past. They had stood shoulder to shoulder in support of the same great cause, laboring with equal zeal to a common end. They had advised and counseled together during every phase of the conflict, each at times borrowing hope and inspiration from the other. Amid a Nation of mourners no man felt the death of Mr. Lincoln more than Governor Morton, his admirer, co-laborer, and trusted friend. On the receipt of the sad intelligence, he issued the following proclamation :

"STATE OF INDIANA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
"INDIANAPOLIS, April 15, 1865.

"To the Citizens of Indianapolis :

"The mournful intelligence has been received that the President, Abraham Lincoln, died this morning from a wound inflicted by the hand of an assassin, last night. A great and good man has fallen, and the country has lost its beloved and patriotic Chief Magistrate in the hour of her greatest need.

"I, therefore, request the citizens of Indianapolis, in testimony of their profound sorrow, to close their places of business, and assemble in the State House Square at twelve o'clock M. to-day, to give expression to their sentiments over this great National calamity.

"O. P. MORTON,

"Governor of Indiana.

Immediately after the meeting thus called, the Governor hastened to Washington to join in paying the last sad honors to his murdered friend. He, with others, accompanied the President's remains to their final resting-place ; and, at his request, it was decided to have them rest for a day at Indianapolis. The ceremonies here were of a most solemn and impressive character.

Shortly after this the returning troops of Indiana began to arrive, and the grateful duty of properly receiving the victorious veterans followed quickly on the mournful task of burying their murdered chief. The close of the war opened up a new field of executive labor, which, if less exciting than that of the last few years, was no less perplexing and severe.

In the fall of 1865, in consequence of his great labors and the continued strain upon his energies, Governor Morton's health became impaired to such a degree as to require a cessation from work. His physicians prescribed rest and travel, and in November, 1865, he went to Europe. He remained abroad about five months, when he returned and resumed his duties as Governor. His safe return was the more gratifying to his friends in Indiana, since a State election was approaching and he was looked to as usual to sound

THE KEY NOTE.

State officers, members of Congress and of the State Legislature were to be elected in the fall. The Legislature then chosen would have to elect a United States Senator, and it was taken by common consent among Republicans that if they carried the State Governor Morton was to be the man. Shortly after his return from Europe the Republicans called a public meeting, the first of the campaign, on the 20th of June, 1866. The largest hall in Indianapolis was densely crowded with those anxious to see and hear him, and a large number of prominent men occupied seats on the platform. His speech on this occasion was one of the most powerful and scathing he ever delivered. The surroundings were suggestive of stirring memories. He had often spoken from the same platform during the war, appealing to the people, calling for volunteers, and exhorting the citizens of the State to stand by and support the Government. Now the war was over, and the question was presented, as it is to-day, whether the fruits of victory should be preserved or surrendered. His speech consisted of a vindication of the course of the Republican party and an arraignment of the Democracy. The latter portion of it was terribly severe, and is still well remembered by those who heard it. He dwelt upon the course of the Democracy during the war, and recalled their countless acts of disloyalty. He hurled facts and history at them with fatal precision and effect. Nearly every sentence was received with cheers by the audience, and the applause seemed to inspire the speaker. His invective fairly glowed with pas-

sion. Having traced the dark and dishonoring course of the Democracy from the firing on Fort Sumter throughout the war and down to the time of speaking, he concluded his fiery philippic by saying:

"In short, the Democratic party may be described as a common sewer "and loathsome receptacle, into which is emptied every element of inhumanity and barbarism which has desolated the age."

In this speech also he made an argument in favor of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, which attracted attention throughout the country. No speech delivered since the war had so excoriated the Democracy, or portrayed so powerfully their treasonable career and purposes, and it earned for Governor Morton their deeper hatred than ever. By Republicans it was generally accepted as a complete vindication of the principles and policy of the party, and nearly 3,000,000 copies of it were circulated in different States of the Union.

During the campaign which followed, Governor Morton spoke at various points in the State, and never with greater power or effect. The election resulted in a sweeping Republican victory. In the Legislature the Republicans had thirty-two majority on joint ballot. Shortly after the meeting of the General Assembly in January, 1867, Governor Morton was elected United States Senator, no other Republican candidate being even suggested, and he receiving every Republican vote.

HIS SENATORIAL CAREER.

Great as Governor Morton's services to Republican principles and the cause of freedom had been heretofore, they have been fully matched by those which have marked his senatorial career. If he had died at the close of the war he would have been remembered as "Indiana's War Governor," as one of the mainstays of the Government during the rebellion, and as a man of extraordinary executive ability. To these distinctions history will now add that he was also a wise and sagacious legislator, of broad and comprehensive views, true to liberty as the needle to the pole, firm and unyielding in his devotion

to the cause of right, and immovable as a rock in his support of Republican principles. If it be true that no man did more to sustain the Government during the war, it is equally true that none has done more since the war to secure its results and to establish the Government on solid, broad, and enduring foundations.

Governor Morton took his seat in the Senate of the Fortieth Congress, March 4, 1867. At that time Hon. B. F. Wade was President of the Senate, and the body numbered among its members many able Senators of the war period, some of whom have since died, some have passed out of public life, and a few still remain in the Senate. Probably never before, certainly at no time since, has the Senate embraced more men of ability, experience and character than it did then. Senator Morton was welcomed to the body, and received at once into the fullest confidence by leading Republican Senators. His political record and services were familiar as household words, while his temperate life and spotless character made him a fit associate for the best of the great men who then adorned the Senate. Their estimate of his abilities is shown by the fact that in the organization of the standing committees he was accorded three important places—Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures, and a member of the Committees on Foreign Relations and Military Affairs.

HIS FIRST SPEECH IN THE SENATE.

The great question before the Fortieth Congress, and one which was occupying the attention of the whole country at that time, was that of Reconstruction, or the rehabilitation of the Southern States. The stubborn contest between President Johnson and Congress had attracted universal attention to the subject, and its intrinsic importance made it the theme of general comment and discussion. The great question was how far to go in restoring the late rebels to their political rights, and what measures were necessary to secure Republican Government to the Southern States, and political equality, together with safety and protection, to all classes of people. On this question, and all those growing out of it, Senator Morton had

well settled views. He believed most profoundly that treason was a crime, and that those who had engaged in it should be made to realize the fact. He believed that men who had but just laid down their arms after a four years' struggle to destroy the Government ought not to be trusted immediately with the absolute control of the Southern States without the exaction of guarantees in the interests of liberty. He desired to accord them all civil and political rights as soon as it was safe to do so, but he wished also to have the future peace and security of the Union "so imbedded in the imperishable bulwarks of the constitution that the waves of secession might dash against it in vain." While he regarded it as important that the work of reconstruction should not be unnecessarily delayed, he considered it still more important that it should proceed upon sound principles which would furnish guarantees for the future integrity and peace of the republic.

On the 24th of January, 1868, Senator Morton delivered his first speech in the Senate. The subject under debate was the Reconstruction question. He had not intended to speak at that time, and had made no deliberate preparation. In the course of the debate, however, Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, made a bitter attack on the Republican party and the Congressional policy of reconstruction. When he concluded, Senator Nye rose to reply, but yielded to Senator Morton, who spoke extemporaneously and without having made a single note. At the beginning of his speech he said :

"The issue here to-day is the same which prevails throughout the country which will be the issue of this canvass, and perhaps for years to come. "It is between two paramount ideas, each struggling for the supremacy. One "is, that the war to suppress the rebellion was right and just on our part ; "that the rebels forfeited their civil and political rights, and can only be "restored to them upon such conditions as the nation may prescribe for its "future safety and prosperity. The other idea is, that the rebellion was "not sinful, but was right ; that those engaged in it forfeited no rights, civil "or political, and have a right to take charge of their State governments, "and be restored to their representation in Congress, just as if there were no "rebellion and nothing had occurred. The immediate issue before the Senate now is between the existing State governments established under the "policy of the President of the United States in the rebel States, and the "plan of reconstruction presented by Congress."

He then proceeded to demonstrate, first, that when the war

closed the rebel States were without State governments of any kind, since the State governments existing at the beginning of the war had been overturned by the rebels, and those erected by the rebels had been overturned by our armies, leaving the Southern States without any government whatever. Second, quoting that clause of the Constitution which provides that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," he proved conclusively that Congress alone had the right to exercise that power, and that it must be done by a Legislative act. Third, he then considered the powers of Congress in the execution of the guaranty, how it should be executed, and what means might be employed for this purpose. This branch of the subject was exhaustively treated, and the conclusion reached that Congress not only had the power, but was in duty bound, to prescribe such a plan of reconstruction as would insure justice, security, and equal rights to all classes in the South. This could only be done by giving the colored race the right of suffrage. Of the State governments organized under President Johnson's policy, he said:

"So far from having been organized by the loyal people, they were organized by the disloyal; every office passed into the hands of a rebel; the Union men had no part or lot in those governments; and so far from answering the purpose for which governments are intended, they failed to extend protection to the loyal men, either white or black."

Then, having shown the utter failure of the attempt to reconstruct the Southern States on the basis of the white population alone, he said:

"Now, sir, what was there left to do? Either we must hold these people continually by military power, or we must use such machinery on such a new basis as would enable loyal republican governments to be raised up; and in the last result I will say Congress waited long, the Nation waited long, experience had to come to the rescue of reason before the thing was done—in the last resort, and, as the last thing to be done, Congress determined to dig through all the rubbish—dig through the soil and the shifting sands, and go down to the eternal rock, and there, upon the basis of the everlasting principle of equal and exact justice to all men, we have planted the column of reconstruction; and, sir, it will arise slowly, but surely, and 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'"

The meager outline here presented furnishes but a faint conception of the comprehensive grasp and convincing power of

this speech. It was universally conceded to be a masterly presentation of the subject—accurate in statement, unanswerable in logic, forcible and dignified in expression. It placed Senator Morton at once among the leaders of the Senate, and showed him to be the peer in debate of the oldest and ablest member. Mr. Barnes, the Congressional historian, says, “It was one of the most memorable and effective speeches ever delivered in the United States Senate.” Col. John W. Forney, in a letter to the Philadelphia Press, wrote: “The scene this afternoon reminded me of the time when Webster and Clay spoke to eager and applauding galleries, and of the later struggles after the war began, when Breckenridge, thundering treason from his seat, was met and mastered by the martyred Baker. * * * Governor Morton’s speech surprised even those who knew his consummate abilities. He spoke like an inspired patriot. I will not attempt to give you a glimpse of his tremendous refutation of Democratic falsehoods or his overwhelming vindication of the Republican Congress. * * * He left the chamber amid the admiration of his friends and the respect of his enemies. No statesman who listened to him but must have been convinced that he had heard a master, not only in intellect, but in heart, a profound thinker and a resistless logician—but more than these, a sincere and fervent lover of his country and all the oppressed races of men.” Hon. Reverdy Johnson, in the Senate at that time, said “the speech in manner and matter recalled the days when the chamber was graced by such men as Webster, Clay and Calhoun.” The next day after its delivery General Rawlins read it to General Grant, then General of the army, who, after hearing it, said, “That settles it, Rawlins. That one speech, if not another word is said, insures a Republican victory next fall.” Thaddeus Stevens declared that the speech was the first successful attempt to defend the reconstruction policy of Congress. The National Executive Committee had it published as a campaign document, and distributed 2,000,000 copies of it during the ensuing Presidential campaign.

From that time to the present Senator Morton has been recognized as one of the Republican leaders, if not distinctively

the leader of the Senate. He has been intimately identified with every important measure of legislation, originating many himself, and shaping or contributing largely to the success of others. Naturally progressive, fertile in expedients and resources, devoted to principle, and untiring in the pursuit of ends which he believes to be just and right, he has been a most powerful advocate and ally of the cause of equal rights and free government.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the constitution were both adopted before Mr. Morton went into the Senate, but his influence had been effectively used in favor of the ratification of both in Indiana. These, however, humane and important as they were, were comparatively inoperative without the Fifteenth Amendment, establishing universal suffrage. The Congressional policy of reconstruction which Senator Morton was so largely instrumental in shaping, contemplated the conferring of the suffrage on the negroes of the South as a measure at once of justice to them and protection to the Union. This was the object of the Fifteenth Amendment, the discussion of which occupied a large share of attention during the third session of the Fortieth Congress, and the final ratification of which was mainly due to Senator Morton's persistence of purpose and boldness of action.

After an exhaustive debate, and an all night session, the report of the Conference Committee of the Senate, recommending the adoption of the Amendment, was agreed to early on the morning of the 26, 1869. Senator Morton had championed the measure from the beginning, and had been ably seconded by other Republican Senators. Senator Sumner had opposed it on the double ground, first, that it virtually conceded that Congress had not the power to regulate suffrage in the States by legislation; and second, that even if adopted by Congress, the Amendment would not be ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it operative. Three-fourths of the States, (twenty-eight) were required, and to make this number Indiana, Texas, Virginia, Mississippi and Georgia would be

required in addition to those States certain to ratify. Mr. Sumner was confident that the ratification of these States could not be secured. Mr. Morton, on the other hand, believed it could be. At all events, he maintained that the Amendment was just in itself, necessary to the peace and security of the Union, and that it should be adopted by Congress and the question of ratification be left to the future. Enough Senators agreed with him to secure the passage of the Amendment and it was adopted, the Democrats all voting against it, and Mr. Sumner not voting at all. The Indiana Legislature was in session at the time, the Republicans having a majority in each branch, but not a quorum (two-thirds) in the House. To prevent the ratification of the Amendment by the House, therefore the Democratic members resigned in a body, thus breaking a quorum. This was treated as the breaking up of the Legislature, and the members of both Houses dispersed to their homes. Governor Baker, however, ordered new elections in the counties from which these members had resigned, and in April, 1869, convened the Legislature in extra session. Near the close of the session, the Republicans having announced their purpose of ratifying the Amendment, the Democrats again resigned to break a quorum. This time, however, they reckoned without their host. Senator Morton returned home on the very morning the resignations were handed in, and learning what had been done, he immediately sent word to the Republican members not to adjourn, but to meet him that night in consultation at the Supreme Court Room. On assembling, he addressed them at length, taking the ground that a quorum of the House was not broken by a resignation of more than one-third of the members; that the constitutional provision requiring two-thirds of the members of each House to constitute a quorum meant two-thirds of the actual members, and that when a member died or resigned, he was no longer a member, and could not be counted as such, and that two-thirds of the remaining members constituted a quorum. His argument was conclusive of the question, and the next morning both Houses of the Legislature met and ratified the Amendment. Their proceedings were duly certified to the Secretary of State at Washington, and Indiana was

counted as having ratified the Amendment. The Democrats who resigned were equally surprised and disgusted at this turn of affairs. The next Legislature, (the Democrats being in a majority) passed a joint resolution declaring the "pretended" ratification "null and void," and "withdrawing and rescinding" all action, perfect and imperfect, on the part of this State, "purporting to assent to, and ratify said proposed Fifteenth Amendment." Their protest, however, amounted to nothing, and Indiana remained in line.

THE RATIFICATION OF THREE MORE STATES SECURED.

Pending the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, a bill was introduced in the House authorizing the President to reconstruct Virginia, Texas and Mississippi. Here was another opportunity, and Senator Morton seized it. When the bill reached the Senate, he submitted as an amendment an additional section, providing that before these States should be admitted to representation in Congress they should ratify the proposed Fifteenth Amendment. The bill and amendment were referred to the Judiciary Committee, which reported adversely to the amendment. A three days' debate ensued, in which Senator Trumbull, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, led in support of the committee's report, and Senator Morton in support of his amendment. This debate brought Senator Morton again prominently before the Senate and the country. The importance of the subject, and the ability with which the debate was conducted, caused it to be regarded with unusual interest. Mr. Trumbull was deemed the best lawyer in the Senate, and was a very able debater, but in this contest Senator Morton showed himself fully the equal of the distinguished Senator from Illinois, both as a lawyer and debater. "Senator Morton," said a correspondent of the New York Times, "took both the legal and humane aspects of the case into account, and sustained his propositions by a masterly argument, excelling, if that be possible, his former speech on reconstruction." At the conclusion of the debate a vote was taken, and Senator Morton was sustained. His amendment passed the Senate and subsequently the House. Thus

the ratification of Virginia, Texas and Mississippi was secured.

There remained but one more obstinate State to secure, viz., Georgia. This State had been reconstructed in 1868, but had subsequently violated faith with the Government by expelling all the colored members of the Legislature, on the ground that they were not eligible to hold office. In December, 1869, therefore, Senator Morton introduced a bill instructing the military commandant to reconvene the Georgia Legislature, including the colored members elect, and authorizing it thus convened to proceed to the work of reconstruction by the election of two United States Senators, who should become entitled to their seats as soon as the Legislature should ratify the Fifteenth Amendment. The Judiciary Committee, as before, took exception to the last provision, and reported against it. Another debate ensued, similar in spirit to the former, and conducted with equal ability. On this occasion Senator Morton was opposed by Senator Carpenter and others. As before, however, he was successful, his bill passing the Senate in its original shape by seven majority. Thus was secured the ratification of the last of the five States which, a year previously, Senator Sumner had declared could not be secured, and the Fifteenth Amendment became a part of the constitution. The ratification of that noble and beneficent measure might, in time, have been secured by other means, but it stands to-day a grand and perpetual monument of Senator Morton's persistency of purpose, fertility of resources, and unflinching devotion to the cause of justice.

THE KU-KLUX LEGISLATION.

In all of Mr. Morton's public life there is nothing more honorable to him than his course with regard to the Southern States. Rebels and rebel sympathizers have found pleasure in stigmatizing him as "the apostle of hate," etc., but the impartial historian will write that his whole course towards the States and the people of the South has been actuated by a desire to establish justice, insure tranquility, elevate the oppressed, and protect the weak and helpless. No man living

entertains towards the people of the South, in so far as they do right and obey the laws, a more just and kindly feeling than Senator Morton; but he is the determined enemy of lawlessness, the unyielding champion of equal rights, and the best friend of the South in that he represents the only principles on which the Union can be rendered permanent and peaceable.

About the close of the summer session of 1870, Senator Morton first called the attention of Congress to the fact that numerous outrages were being perpetrated and general intimidation practiced in the South for political purposes, and charged that an organization existed in various parts of the South for the purpose of encouraging and perpetrating these outrages. His first speech on the subject was replied to by Senator Trumbull, who ridiculed the idea of such an organization. During vacation, however, evidence accumulated, and at the opening of the next session of Congress Senator Morton offered a resolution authorizing the appointment of a committee to investigate and report upon the subject. The Senate, however, was not yet ready to act. His next step was the introduction of a resolution calling on the President for whatever information he might have in regard to the commission of outrages in the South. The President did not respond for some time, and when he did some Senators evinced a strong disposition to adjourn without taking any action in the premises. Senator Morton, however, was convinced that something must be done to protect life at the South and put a stop to the murders and outrages which were now growing more and more frequent. He accordingly determined to prevent an adjournment of the Senate till some measure to that end could be perfected, and, if possible, passed. The result was that, after a protracted and earnest debate, extending through several weeks, the Senate passed an act entitled "An act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes," which became commonly known as "The Ku-klux Act." And, finally, when upon his original motion a committee was appointed to investigate as to the alleged existence of the ku-klux organization, their report showed a condition of

affairs which startled the Nation and shocked the civilized world. Their report completely vindicated Senator Morton's wisdom and justified all he had said and done in this behalf.

THE LOUISIANA QUESTION.

One of the greatest political contests of recent times was the long struggle, hardly ended yet, running through several years, and embracing many ramifications and phases, commonly known as the Louisiana question. Briefly, it was a case of two contending State governments, each claiming to be legal and genuine, and asking for recognition by the General Government. In point of fact it was an effort on the part of the Democracy in that State to override the will of the majority and establish themselves in power by violence. Senator Morton espoused the cause of the Kellogg government, and defended it with such an array of facts and precedents, and legal argument as made the end certain from the beginning. The contest was stubborn and long continued, but at each renewal of it, Senator Morton established and secured his points.

During the last session of the Forty-second Congress, a committee was appointed to investigate the Louisiana case. It consisted of Senators Carpenter, Logan, Anthony, Alcorn, of Mississippi, Hill, of Georgia, Trumbull and Morton. After an exhaustive investigation, Messrs. Carpenter, Logan, Anthony and Alcorn reported that the election under which both State governments were claiming, was void for fraud, but admitted that if it had been fairly conducted Kellogg must have been elected Governor by at least 15,000 majority. Messrs. Trumbull and Hill took the ground that McEnery was elected. Senator Morton alone reported and maintained that while the election was characterized by great fraud and violence, Governor Kellogg had a majority of the vote cast and was clearly elected; that the Supreme Court of the State, which was elected in 1868 and was therefore out of the dispute, had recognized the Kellogg government; that the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State were conclusive on all questions arising exclusively under the Constitution and laws

of Louisiana, and that the validity of the State election was such a question. Pending these reports, Mr. Carpenter introduced a bill setting aside the election, and authorizing the President to order a new one to be held under Federal supervision. A three days' debate ensued, in which, Senator Morton, single-handed and alone, opposed the passage of the bill. Messrs. Carpenter, Anthony, Logan, and Alcorn advocated the measure very earnestly. They brought their combined powers to bear against Senator Morton, but without effect. He scarcely ever appeared to greater advantage than in this debate, and at its conclusion, Mr. Carpenter's bill was defeated by two majority. Subsequently, Senator Morton's report was adopted by the Senate, the Kellogg government recognized, and the President's support of it against the attempted revolution of the White Leaguers was sustained by the votes of all the Republican members of the Senate. During the session of 1873-4, Mr. Carpenter again introduced his bill for a new election in Louisiana, and re-opened the debate. As it progressed, however, he discovered that Senator Morton's position was more impregnable than ever, and his following stronger ; so he finally abandoned his own measure and came to the support of Mr. Morton.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

It is freely charged against Senator Morton (and really it is the only charge brought against him) that he is wholly devoted to party, and has no convictions or motives beyond those of mere partisanship. A more unjust or untrue assertion could not be made. He is, indeed, an ardent Republican. He believes wholly and unreservedly in Republican principles, and that the welfare and safety of the country depend on the retention of the Republican party in power. He cordially detests because he fully understands the malignant spirit and dangerous purposes of the Democratic party, and believes that its restoration to power would be a public calamity. But he is as honest in politics as he is in pecuniary matters, and no person can point to a single act of his public life not dictated by a desire to do justice and defend the right. As chairman of the committee

above referred to, he has had ample opportunity to sacrifice principle to partisanship, but in no case has he ever done so. He has treated every question brought before him in a spirit of lofty justice and judicial fairness, keeping constantly in view his responsibility to the Senate and the rights and dignity of the body. The case of Caldwell, of Kansas, is in point. Caldwell was charged with having bought his election to the Senate. As Chairman of the Committee on Elections it became the duty of Senator Morton to investigate the case, and upon the evidence adduced he reported in favor of Caldwell's expulsion, and took high ground in favor of purifying the Senate. There was no question of Caldwell's guilt, but his friends demanded that the Senate should simply declare his election void, instead of expelling him. Some of the ablest members of the Senate opposed Morton in this matter, but he so pressed the corrupt Senator that in order to escape the certainty of impending expulsion he resigned. Of Mr. Morton's action in this case, the Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune said

"To take position against Caldwell as Morton did, required some mental and moral courage, for the Senate is such a little body that fellowship prevails in it as in a female seminary. A big conspiracy gathered around Caldwell for his support; but Morton is a man who kindles and enlarges by opposition, when aware that his cause is legitimate and popular. * * * He had prepared a closing speech to overwhelm Caldwell; and from what I have heard of the contents of that speech, I presume that, had he delivered it, it would have spread his reputation abroad as one of the most determined political reformers of his time. * * * Senator Morton, with his great energies, clear sagacity and adaptability, and solid acquirements, can be one of the leading spirits of our period, if he continues to remedy and lighten and harmonize matters as he has recently been doing."

The press of the country generally gave Senator Morton great credit for his conduct of the case. The St. Louis Democrat said:

"Senator Morton deserves great credit for the boldness and energy with which he pressed the matter upon the attention of the Senate. The country owes him much for what he has done."

The Leavenworth Sentinel said:

"Especially will the people of Kansas hold in grateful remembrance the able and untiring and successful efforts of Senator Morton, of Indiana, in bringing this guilty man to a proper sense of his unworthiness."

The Topeka Daily Commonwealth said :

"Next to his immediate people of Indiana, Senator Morton has the most "indefeasable claim on the gratitude and regard of the people of the State "of Kansas. As chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, "and on the floor of the Senate, he fought the fight against bribery and "corruption for us when we were without a champion."

Nearly all of the leading papers of the country spoke in the same strain.

The Caldwell case is a type of Senator Morton's whole conduct as Chairman of the Committee on Elections in the Senate. Every question has been approached in a spirit of justice, without regard to partisan bearings, and treated with a strictly judicial fairness. The rights of the Senate have been kept constantly in view, while the rights of individuals have received the utmost consideration consistent with the dignity and purity of the Senate.

In 1873 this committee was directed by resolution to report "the best and most practicable mode of electing the President and Vice President, and providing a tribunal to adjust and decide all contested elections connected therewith." In response to this resolution Senator Morton made an elaborate report, setting forth the inconvenience and cumbrousness of the electoral college, and proposed a plan for its practical abolition by the election of President and Vice President by popular vote. At the same time he proposed a remedy for the possible and dangerous emergency of a contested electoral representation. His ideas on the latter subject have been practically adopted by changing the mode of counting electoral votes, and it can hardly be doubted that his proposition for the abolition of the electoral college and the election of President and Vice President by popular vote will be adopted at no distant day, in substance if not in form.

AMNESTY.

As before stated, Senator Morton has never been actuated by a feeling of hostility to the South. His ruling sentiment has been one of loyalty to the Union, fidelity to principle, and justice to all. He has repeatedly said that the Southern

people had in their own hands the power of restoring perfect peace by obeying the Constitution and the laws in good faith, and recognizing the principle of political toleration. But he has opposed with all the force and determination of his nature the admission of unrepentant rebels to a full participation in government, or the practical obliteration of the dividing line between loyalty and treason. He believes that there is such a thing as treason, and that those who engaged it should have been made to feel some of its consequences. He believes that during the civil war there was a right side and a wrong side, and that public opinion, at least, if not the law of the land, should recognize a distinction between those who fought for the Government and those who fought against it. Shortly after the close of the war, in his message to the Indiana Legislature in November, 1865, he said :

“While the heresy of State sovereignty has been extirpated, and the questions involved in the conflict settled by the arbitrament of arms, it is yet of the greatest importance to the Nation that these questions be adjudicated and determined by the highest judicial tribunal, which might most appropriately be done in a trial, for high treason and other atrocious crimes, of the chief and head of this most wicked and bloody rebellion. It should be definitely established as a principle in our Constitution, both by judicial decision and example of punishment, that rebellion is treason, that treason is a crime which may not be committed with impunity ; and that there is but one sovereignty, which resides in the collective and undivided people of the United States.”

In the light of subsequent events, it cannot be doubted that the country would have been the gainer by such a judicial determination of the crime of treason, or that it is likely to experience more and more sharply the evil results of a too lenient policy.

In January, 1872, a bill was introduced in the Senate for the removal of all disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment—in other words for universal amnesty. Senator Morton opposed it in a speech delivered on the 23d of that month. After premising that amnesty was usually considered in the light of expediency on one hand, or of passion on the other, he said he proposed to consider it from a higher plane, entirely above the domain of feeling or expediency. He said :

“I think there is a great principle involved which Congress ought to con-

"sider—a principle of consistency, of duty to the Government, and especially a principle of the greatest importance to posterity."

As to the real meaning and effect of amnesty, which he declared as an act of oblivion, he said :

"Universal amnesty removes the last mark of legal disapprobation of this rebellion. It is a declaration to posterity that there was nothing wrong in the rebellion, that it involved no criminality, that it was simply an honest difference of opinion between parties, in which there was no criminality on either side. * * * Sir, I want peace in the South ; I want it as earnestly as any man can ; but I want peace in the South on correct principles. I am not willing to purchase peace by conceding that they were right and that we were wrong. They must regard universal amnesty in that light ; history must regard it in that light."

After further discussing the moral effect of universal amnesty, with the probable results of the restoration of the Democratic party to power, through the votes of the ex-rebels, he continued :

"Mr. President, to me universal amnesty seems like sickly sentimentalism ; it is magnanimity slopping over ; it is spurious generosity, oblivious alike of justice, of principle and of posterity. Let us have a little healthy public sentiment. Let us have something this nation can live by. Let us teach a lesson in history that we are willing our children shall be governed by. Let us not say to future generations that those who sought to destroy the best government in the world, who sought to build a new government whose corner-stone should be human slavery, who were guilty of inhumanity, and who practiced a barbarism that belonged to times long gone by—let us not say to future generations that these men did no wrong, that they were worthy of all acceptance, and of again being returned to the highest positions in the Government."

The extracts do not represent the scope and comprehensiveness of the speech, but they indicate its spirit. It was a plea for loyalty against treason, for the real rights of the Government against imaginary rights of rebels. Towards the close of the speech he was several times interrupted by Democratic Senators, when, changing the course of his argument, he attacked the recent record of the Democratic party, showing its avowed hostility to the Constitutional amendments and to political equality in the South. He demonstrated beyond a doubt that their purpose was to undo the reconstruction acts of Congress, overthrow the State governments then established in the South, and re-organize them on the "White man's basis." In the light of subsequent events some portions of

this speech read like a prophecy, and each succeeding year furnishes additional proof of the speaker's political prescience. The amnesty bill was defeated in the Senate, and this speech of Senator Morton's, which was mainly instrumental in the result, was published as a campaign document and circulated far and wide in the campaign of 1868.

A NATURAL LEADER.

Space would fail us to recount all of Senator Morton's services in the Senate to the cause of liberty, union and progress. At all times and in all circumstances he has been the faithful champion of Republican principles, instant in season and out of season, always ready to lead in attack or defense as occasion might require. No man now in public life has been identified with so many great public measures either as author or champion. If his services to the Republican party have been such as to deserve the gratitude of all Republicans, his services to the cause of liberty and humanity challenge the admiration of every patriot and philanthropist. Nature and circumstances have united to make him a political leader. His remarkable political sagacity and foresight have been supplemented by large experience and knowledge of men and affairs. He is bold without being rash, sanguine without being over confident, always cool, never losing his self control, never forgetting what is due to an opponent or to himself, and, above all, never forgetting to press steadily toward his objective point. Once committed to a great measure he knows no such word as fail. The foregoing pages furnish abundant evidence of his persistence of purpose and fertility of resources. He knows the Democratic party thoroughly, and exposes its plans and purposes with an accuracy as marvelous as it is relentless.

His own strong and conscientious convictions in politics seem to bring him into close accord with the people, and he rarely fails to interpret their feelings and wishes aright. For this reason, among others, he has ever since the war been looked to by the Republicans, not alone of Indiana, but of other States, to lead the attack on the Democratic party.

For ten years past he has borne an active part in the campaigns of other States than Indiana, generally being called upon to open the campaign and sound the key note. His services last year in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maine are still fresh in the memories of Republicans in those States. He was the first speaker from any other State to enter Ohio and the last to leave it, delivering the first speech made by any non-resident, on the 7th of August, at Urbana, and following it up with a series of powerful and effective addresses. His last speech in the State was delivered at Cincinnati on the Saturday night before the election. In Indiana it is hardly necessary to say he is the head and front of every campaign, so far as the Republicans are concerned. The party in this State embraces many other able and eloquent men, but none who has such a hold on the hearts of the people, or whose tremendous power is so universally felt and recognized. The secret of Senator Morton's force as a speaker lies in his terrible earnestness and irresistible logic. He never trifles with his audiences or underrates their intelligence. He rarely, if ever, indulges in anecdotes or pleasantry. His style is dignified, severe, and argumentative, yet so simple as to interest all classes of hearers, while his logic carries conviction to all minds alike. As a political organizer he has no superior. His services in this regard have been invaluable to the Republicans of Indiana, and his counsel and advice are often sought by those of other States.

HIS POSITION ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

From the first issue of legal tender notes during the war and their subsequent speedy depreciation, Mr. Morton has recognized the evils of a depreciated currency and the necessity of placing it upon a stable basis as soon as it could be done without unnecessary injury to the business of the country. In dealing with this difficult problem, while keeping steadily in view the ultimate resumption of specie payments, he has aimed to shape the policy of the Government so that this end might be reached with the least shock to business and the least distress to business men. In his speech at Urbana,

Ohio, delivered on the 7th of August, 1875, after speaking of the origin, object and effect of the so-called Resumption Act, he said :

"I had something to do with the preparation of this bill, voted for it in good faith, and intend to stand by it until experience has demonstrated that it is unpracticable or needs amendment. Its main feature, fixing a day for resumption and providing for it, I had proposed to the Senate six years before, and whether the time fixed for it is a proper one or not, and I should have preferred it a year or two later, it is the method by which, I believe, specie payments can and will be reached. It establishes the policy of free banking, the slow, gradual, but sure return to specie payments, and no contraction or expansion of the currency until that time.

This is still his position. It may be added that he has always been opposed to the increase of greenbacks beyond the original limit of \$400,000,000, and has denounced every proposition of the kind, and particularly the proposition to issue new greenbacks in payment of the bonds, as equivalent to robbery and repudiation. Prior to the panic of 1873, he had steadily advocated legislation looking to the early resumption of specie payments. When that event occurred, believing that the period of resumption was necessarily postponed for a considerable time, and that the true remedy for, and relief from, the panic was that which had long been successfully employed in England in similar emergencies, viz: a moderate increase of the currency, he advised the President to put into circulation the \$44,000,000 reserve of greenbacks then in the treasury, but he did not then advocate, and never has advocated any increase of the greenback circulation beyond the original legal limit of \$400,000,000.

THE UNITED STATES A NATION.

No American statesman of the present generation has labored so hard or so effectively as Senator Morton to inculcate the idea that the United States are a Nation, and not a mere confederation of states. To his mind the former idea embraces the true conception of our governmental system, and the only one on which the Union can be made enduring, while the latter contains the very elements of weakness, disintegra-

tion and ruin. In the attempted secession of the Southern States, and the war which followed, he saw the natural fruits of the doctrine that the Government is a mere confederation of states, and the resultant heresy of State rights; while in the efforts of the Government to preserve the Union and its own existence he recognized the grand idea of a new nationality. In a message to the Indiana Legislature, in November, 1865, shortly after the close of the war, he said:

"The war has established upon imperishable foundations the great fundamental truth of the unity and indivisibility of the Nation. We are many States, but one people, having one undivided sovereignty, one flag, and one common destiny."

In a lecture, delivered at Providence, Rhode Island, November 27, 1871, in the Franklin Lyceum course, he took for his theme the "National Idea," and elaborated the subject very thoroughly, tracing the development of the State Sovereignty doctrine from the resolutions of 1798 to the breaking out of the rebellion, and showing how pregnant it had always been with danger to the country. In the course of this address Senator Morton said:

"The idea that we are a Nation, that we are one people, undivided and indivisible, should be a plank in the platform of every party. It should be presented on the banner of every party. It should be taught in every school, academy and college. It should be the political north star, by which every political manager should steer his bark. It should be the central idea of American politics, and every child should, so to speak, be vaccinated with the idea, that he may be protected against this political distemper that has brought such calamity upon our country."

Similar quotations might be made at length. From nearly all his speeches and addresses delivered in or out of the Senate during the last ten years, the idea crops out with ever recurring force that the American people are one people, and this Government a government of the people and not of States—in short, that we are a Nation, and not a Confederacy. There is now pending in the Senate a series of resolutions, introduced by him, declaratory of this idea as against the opposing one of State sovereignty, upon which he will speak whenever, in the course of public business, the question can be reached.

RECOGNITION OF HIS SERVICES.

A man of Senator Morton's positive character must needs have warm friends and bitter enemies. During the whole of his public life he has held strong convictions on all public questions, dodging nothing, evading no responsibility, and never concealing his opinions. In every contest for principle he has been in the thickest of the fight, and generally leading the way. Thus he has won for himself the enthusiastic support of the rank and file of the Republican party, the profound respect of all who admire consistent devotion to principle and the bitter hatred of Democrats generally. He has exposed and defeated the plans of the Democracy so often, routed them on so many fields, and pointed the way to Republican victory in so many contests, that they stand in mortal fear of him and hate him in the same proportion.

But while Senator Morton has the honor of being the most cordially hated and best abused man in the Nation by ex-rebels, rebel sympathizers, and Democrats, he has also received such evidences of approval from many quarters as any public man might well be proud of. It is needless to speak of his popularity and strength in Indiana. The Republicans of his own State delight to honor him. They elected him Governor in 1864 by the largest majority ever given in the State, and have since twice elected him unanimously to the United States Senate. But recognition of his services to the country and the Republican party has not been confined to the people of Indiana. In September, 1862, Secretary Chase said, in a letter to Robert Dale Owen, "Governor Morton merits all you promise. I have believed in him from the first day I saw him." Admiral Foote wrote to a brother of his during the war, "Governor Morton furnished me the powder with which my fleet took Fort Henry. He is our mainstay in the West." General Grant acknowledged his services several different times in letters which have since been lost. After the close of the war, Secretary Chase wrote him as follows:

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 10, 1865.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I think it is the right of men, who have ably

"and faithfully served their country, to know that their labors are appreciated as they merit.

"So I will not deny myself the pleasure of telling you that Secretary Stanton was with me last evening, and we, naturally turning our minds to the past, fell to talking of you.

"We agreed that no Governor rendered such services, or displayed such courage or more ability in administration; and we agreed that your recent services were most meritorious of all, because rendered under circumstances of greater personal risk of health and life, and which would have been by almost any man regarded, and by all accepted, as good reason for total inaction.

"I have seldom heard Stanton express himself so earnestly.

"I hope you will derive some satisfaction from this little relation. The talk gave much to me.

"Cordially, your friend,

"S. P. CHASE."

In a speech delivered at a Soldiers' Re-union at Rockville, in this State, on the 6th of September last, General Sherman said:

"Governor Morton was one of the few civilians who seemed to be unable to do enough for his soldiers, never hesitating to count the cost or the sacrifice, but acting speedily and in season. Gen. Grant and all of us thought him one of the noblest men at home. I wish to repeat what I have heretofore said so often, that to Governor Morton the army owed much in many ways. He never failed us. He never said our State had stood the draft, or we have furnished our quota, but answered every call, and when the State was well nigh impoverished he used his own credit. To-day the record of his fame as the soldier's friend is bright and untarnished as glittering gold."

Referring to his war services, the Cincinnati Commercial said:

"During the war there were three civil officers who displayed great executive ability, viz.: Stanton, Andrews and Morton. However, others were distinguished, the first distinction for grasping the responsibilities of the occasion and becoming recognized, positive personal forces, distinctly and vastly influential, belongs to the Secretary of War and the Governors of Massachusetts and Indiana. The labor performed by these men, the energy they put into the war, the mighty impulses they gave to armies can not be understood by ordinary workers—were but dimly appreciated in the days when their services were most essential—but they will stand forth defined and gigantic in history."

In 1863 the New York Times said:

"The State of Indiana has already more than half raised her quota under the last call of the President, and her residue will be ready in about two weeks. The State of New York has not yet raised a regiment

"in response to that proclamation. * * * The difference is principally due to the fact that Indiana has a Governor of pre-eminent devotion to the cause and signal executive ability, while New York has not."

Seymour was Governor of New York at that time.

The Washington Chronicle said :

"In the darkest hour of the slaveholders' rebellion Governor Morton stood like a rock 'for the flag.' He held the great State of Indiana true to that sacred symbol of freedom. When the 'politics' of the so-called Democracy in that State became little better than a conspiracy of assassins, when beaten everywhere at the ballot-box that party turned to the pistol and the midnight conclave—the final arguments of traitors—how heroically did governor Morton meet and vanquish their gathering clans! how did he put to flight the cabals of traitors!"

The St. Louis Democrat said, in 1872 :

"Of the many distinguished men, soldiers and civilians, who have been brought into prominence during the last sixteen years, few have been more conspicuous or useful than Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana. * * * There is no man in public life who has done more for the safety, honor and prosperity of the Nation. His pluck and energy during the war, and especially his clear grit throughout the more perilous ordeal of reconstruction, have given him a strong hold on the popular heart."

Similar extracts from leading papers might be multiplied indefinitely. No American statesman now living has received so many evidences of approval from distinguished sources of his services to the country and his devotion to Republican principles.

In October, 1870, President Grant tendered him the mission to England. At that time the Alabama question was absorbing public attention, and its settlement upon just and enduring principles was universally conceded to be a matter of great consequence. Senator Morton's ability as a lawyer, his experience as a statesman, and his proved loyalty to American ideas marked him as one eminently fitted for the duty of settling this important controversy, and the appointment was accordingly tendered to him. The announcement of this fact met with general approval throughout the country. The Boston Advertiser said :

"The selection of Senator Morton for the English mission is creditable to the administration. He has filled with honor many high offices at home, though he is yet in the prime of life. In Indiana, during the war, he was a model governor. In the United States Senate he has had few peers in the clearness of his intellect and the breadth of his views. In his new

"position we have no doubt he will prove a worthy successor of the able ministers who have gone before him. The State of Indiana will be fortunate if it secures a Senator in his place of equal ability and influence."

The Chicago Tribune said:

"The appointment is creditable to the administration. England is just now the great point in Europe at which the United States need a statesman of ability. * * * In selecting a minister to Great Britain the President has been more than usually prudent. He has not held the office to bestow it in any sense as a mere compliment, or as a reward for political services. He has sought the best man in the country in order to obtain a suitable person for the grave responsibilities of the post. There are few men in public life equal in ability and vigor of intellect to Senator Morton. * * * The appointment will strike the country as an admirable one in every respect."

Such was the unanimous voice of the Republican press, and of the country generally. Upon full consideration, however, and especially in view of the fact that if he resigned his place in the Senate the Legislature would elect a Democrat to succeed him, Senator Morton declined the proffered honor. Upon this the President sent him the following:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 21. }

"Hon. O. P. Morton, U. S. S.:

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 19th inst., declining the English Mission, with reasons therefor, is received. I fully concur with you in all the reasons which you give for the course you find it your duty to pursue in the matter, but regret that the country is not to have your valuable services at the English Court at this important juncture. Your course, however, I deem wise, and it will be highly appreciated by your constituents in Indiana and throughout the country.

"With assurances of my highest regards, I remain, very truly, your
obedient servant, U. S. GRANT."

CONCLUSION.

We have thus presented in outline some of the salient features of Mr. Morton's character and career. According to any just standard of greatness he must be regarded as one of the great men of the age, and his friends point with confidence and pride to his public services as entitling him to a place among America's greatest sons. Those who do not know him will gather some idea from the foregoing pages of his comprehen-

sive scope of intellect, his lofty patriotism, his devotion to principle, and his readiness to assume responsibility in every emergency. Those who enjoy his personal acquaintance will bear further witness to his amiable disposition, his simplicity of character, and the absolute purity of his private life. It is a grand thing for a man to be able to point to such a record of public service as Mr. Morton's; but it is a still greater source of pride to his friends to have it in their power to say that in the whole course of his long career he has never made a dollar dishonestly, nor lent himself to the commission of a wrong or an unjust act. Enemies may defame and rivals may endeavor to belittle his character, but the impartial historian will write the name of Oliver P. Morton among those of the great men of the nineteenth century.

A LEAF FROM HISTORY.

SENATOR MORTON MAKES A PERSONAL EXPLANATION—HE
SHOWS WHAT WAS DONE WITH ALL THE MONEYS
PASSING THROUGH HIS HANDS—AND GIVES
A GRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE DOINGS
OF THE SONS OF LIBERTY—THE
TREASONABLE RECORD
OF THE INDIANA
DEMOCRACY.

[From the Congressional Record of May 4, 1876.]

In the Senate, after the business of the morning hour had been disposed of, Mr. Morton arose to a personal explanation. He sent to the clerk's desk and had read a Washington dispatch to the *New York World* in regard to \$250,000 received by him from the General Government while he was Governor of Indiana, from the appropriation of \$2,000,000 to pay expenses of transporting and delivery of arms, etc., to loyal citizens in the States in rebellion. He said:

MR. PRESIDENT: The President of the United States, in the spring of 1863, advanced to me \$250,000 to enable me to carry forward the military operations in the State of Indiana. Of this sum I expended \$133,302 in the service of the State, and with which I charged the State in settlement with it, and the remaining \$116,698 were not expended. That amount I returned to the Treasury of the United States, as shown by the following voucher and receipts:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, April 11, 1865.

"Yours of the 6th inst., enclosing duplicate certificate of deposit, issued by the First National Bank of Indianapolis, Indiana, in your favor, No. 3,060, date 6th inst., for \$116,698, on account of moneys due and refunded to the United States, has been received.

"I am, very respectfully, GEO. HARRINGTON,
"Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

"To Hon. O. P. Morton, Indianapolis."

The \$133,302 which I had expended on behalf of the State was paid back to the government by giving the government credit for that amount on the advances which had been made by the State. These advances were duly audited by the Treasury Department, and allowed as just and valid claims against the government in favor of the State. This settlement and final adjustment of the whole sum of \$250,000 are shown by the following vouchers and quietus from the office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury :

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

"SECOND AUDITOR'S OFFICE, November 8, 1865.

"SIR : The charge of \$250,000 on the books of this office, on account of supplying arms to loyal citizens in the revolted States, has this day been closed on the books of this office, to wit, by the deposit by you of \$116,698 and a transfer of \$133,302 of the funds from the books of the Third Auditor's Office to your credit on the books of this office.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JOHN M. SIMS, Second Auditor.

"To His Excellency, O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana."

From these vouchers it will appear that the whole sum of \$250,000 was accounted for and reported to the government. It will be proper, in this connection, to state the circumstances under which the \$250,000 were advanced to me by the President, and the use made of it, to show that it was not misapplied. At the October election in 1862 in Indiana, the Democrats carried the State by a majority of over 10,000, electing a large majority in each branch of the Legislature, and their candidates for State officers. The Democrats had the Legislature, all the State officers, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, and possessed the whole power in the State government, except the executive. When the Legislature assembled, in the first week in January, 1863, its conduct was characterized by most intense hostility to the administration and to the prosecution of the war. I sent my message to the Houses on the second day of the session. The Senate received, read and printed it, in the usual way. The House refused to receive it, and directed the clerk to return it to me, and on the next day adopted a resolution approving the message of Governor Seymour, of New York. The revolutionary policy thus inaugurated was pursued with increased violence and open disregard of constitutional obligations. The time was chiefly consumed by the introduction of disloyal resolutions, the utterances of factious and treasonable sentiments intended to excite the people against the government and destroy its power to suppress the rebellion. On the 17th of February a bill was introduced into the House, which was intended to strip me, as Governor, of all military power in the State. It provided that all arms should be placed in the custody of the Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary, and Attorney-General of the State, to be kept, issued, or disposed of only by them. It deprived the Governor of all power to call out the militia for any purpose whatever. It provided that all officers of militia should be appointed and commissioned by these four State officers, and not by the Governor, as required by the constitution of the State. It provided for the repeal of the existing militia law, the dissolution of al'

brigades, regiments and companies formed under that law, the surrender of their arms into the hands of agents to be appointed by the four State officers, and rendered null and void all outstanding commissions. In short, the bill transferred to the four State officers the military power which was vested in the Governor by the constitution, was revolutionary and unconstitutional in every feature, and intended for disloyal purposes. The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time by a strict party vote. The legislative history of this bill could not be better given than in the language employed by the Union members of the Legislature in their address to the people of the State, as follows: "The military bill had come from a midnight caucus, had been printed and forced to its engrossment without the change of a word or letter; all amendments and substitutes had been voted down; all references to committees had been refused, although every other bill of a general character that had gone to a second reading had been referred to some committee. The previous question had been sustained, the gag applied, and all debate cut off, and the bill engrossed. Nothing was left for us but to sit by and see this infamous measure passed through, the revolution consummated and civil war begun, or quietly retire and leave the House without a quorum. There was no other peaceful and constitutional remedy. If it had been left to the courts to annul it, before the question could have been determined, the law would have done its work. The military power once in the hands of the conspirators, it would be a matter of no importance what the courts might decide; and if the question took the course of others before the Supreme Court, it might be months or years before the decision was made. The path of duty was the path of safety, and we had no doubt, no hesitation as to the course we should pursue. We were willing and anxious, and repeatedly proposed to the majority to return and pass the appropriation bills, with all their legitimate and lawful legislation, but they replied to us contemptuously that they intended to pass every one of the extra measures before they took up the appropriation bills. The military bill violated, absolutely, no less than seven plain and vital provisions of the State constitution, and subverted entirely the scheme of government invented by the framers of that instrument. Its passage would have been an act of revolution, inevitably attended by civil war, and a collision with the government of the United States."

It had become manifest that the Democratic members of the Legislature were determined to pass the bill at all hazards, which would unquestionably have resulted in civil war. I could not and would not surrender my powers as Governor under the constitution, nor could the government of the United States afford to have me. The purpose of the proceeding was to neutralize the position of Indiana in the war, and to take her out of the line of loyal States northwest of the Ohio river. The very tendency of the bill and the avowed purpose to pass it, caused the most intense ferment, and at once threatened the peace and safety of the State. I could veto the bill, but a simple majority could pass it over the veto, so that would amount to nothing. The Republicans had barely enough members in the House of Representatives to break the quorum and break up the Legislature. Consultations were held with Republican members of the Legislature and

leading Republican citizens from different parts of the State, who were summoned for that purpose, and it was the deliberate judgment of all, in which mine fully concurred, that the passage of the bill would involve the State in civil war. The Republican members of the House therefore withdrew from the body to prevent the final passage of the bill. All appropriation bills to carry on the State government, except the one to pay the per diem and mileage of members, had been kept behind this military bill, so that when the Legislature adjourned there were no appropriations made for any civil or military purposes. There was plenty of money in the State treasury, but it was locked against me. I made an appeal to the people of the State, setting forth the situation, and asking them to furnish money to carry on the State government to support the militia, and organize troops for the United States. The county commissioners in the county of Marion, in which the capital is located, came forward and advanced me \$20,000 out of the county treasury. This example was followed by many other counties in the State, by several banks, railroad companies, and by individuals, until a large sum of money had been received. Under the constitution the Legislature met but once in two years, unless convened in extra session by the Governor, and the next session, of course, would not begin until January, 1865. I obtained all the money I could from the counties and other sources. I made a calculation, and found that I would lack about \$250,000 to carry me through to January, 1865; and to make my position secure, I came to Washington to see if I could not obtain that amount from the government of the United States. After a careful review of the situation by the President (Mr. Lincoln) and Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton), the President advanced me the sum of \$250,000. They both agreed that Indiana was threatened with rebellion, and that the condition of the State came directly within the letter and spirit of the act of Congress, approved July 31, 1861. Mr. Stanton declared to the President, with great emphasis, that if Indiana lost her position as a loyal State, the final success of the government in suppressing the rebellion would be endangered, and that the government must be sustained, at whatever cost or hazard.

The history and character of the transaction is shown by the following extract from my annual message to the Legislature of Indiana in January, 1865:

"Upon the adjournment of the Legislature I found myself unprovided, with the exception of a small balance of the military contingent fund, with money or an appropriation for military purposes. No regiments could be raised under the requisitions of the government; work could not be carried forward without the use of large sums of money. The legion 'militia' had received no money for their services from the beginning of the war, and the organization could not be successfully continued unless payment was made and the men reimbursed for their actual expenditures, for which the appropriation for the legion fund, made in 1861, was inadequate. The southern border was still disturbed by threats and the danger of invasion, and such steps were to be taken, if possible, as would guarantee peace and security to our people. In this dilemma I determined to

apply to the President for an advance, under an appropriation made by Congress, on the 31st of July, 1861, which act is in these words:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of \$2,000,000 be, and the same is hereby appropriated to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States in supplying and defraying the expenses of transporting and delivering such arms and munitions of war as in his judgment may be expedient and proper, to place in the hands of any loyal citizens residing in any of the States of which the inhabitants are in rebellion against the government of the United States, or in which rebellion is or may be threatened; and likewise for defraying such expenses as may be properly incurred in organizing, and sustaining while so organized, any of said citizens, in companies, battalions, regiments, or otherwise, for their own protection, against domestic violence, invasion or rebellion."

"After a full consideration of the condition of affairs in Indiana, the President advanced to me, as a disbursing officer, out of said appropriation, the sum of \$250,000. It will be perceived that this money was not paid to me as a loan to the State, or an advance to the State upon debts due her from the General Government, and creates no debt against the State whatever; but that in theory it is an expenditure made by the President, through me, as his disbursing agent. It has, however, been disbursed exclusively in the name of and for the benefit of the State, in payment of necessary military expenses, for which the State should have made ample appropriation. I have advanced to the paymaster of the State forces at different times, the sum of \$176,656, the greater portion of which, however, has been reimbursed to me by the General Government, upon my filing in the proper department the receipted pay-rolls of the Indiana legion, for services rendered in the war. For a detailed account of the expenditures of the military fund the Legislature is referred to the financial report of Hon. W. H. H. Terrell, Financial Secretary, which is herewith submitted, and to the vouchers on file in this department. All of these expenditures were laid before the auditing committee appointed by the State Legislature for examination, and received their approval, as will be shown by the report. I had on hand, on the first of May, 1865, of the military fund the sum of \$115,487, and the question is now presented as to the proper method of settlement with the government for the fund. One of two ways may be adopted—first, by returning to the government the balance of the fund unexpended, and by settling with it for the amount expended upon vouchers of expenditures, after the same shall have been approved by the Legislature; and this would be in accordance with the theory upon which the money was originally advanced by the President. Second, by paying into the State treasury the unexpended balance of the fund, and treating the whole as an advance to the State to be accounted for by her in her general settlement with the government for advances made. This latter plan is, in my judgment, more consonant with justice and the honor of the State—the money having been expended for purposes for which the State was honorably and patriotically bound to make provision. The total amount of cash received by me is \$1,026,321. I have disbursed for civil purposes, on vouchers, \$199,644; for mili-

tary purposes, on vouchers, \$702,420; total, \$902,065—leaving a balance in my hands of \$124,253. Of this balance \$8,768 belongs to the funds received on account of civil expenses, and \$115,487 on account of funds received for military expenses.

"In conclusion on this subject, I respectfully request that a joint committee of the two houses be speedily appointed to investigate the civil and military expenditures I have made since the adjournment of the last Legislature, and to examine the vouchers for the same on file in the Treasury Department, and that the Legislature will make prompt provision for the repayment of the money I have borrowed for public purposes. It was advanced from patriotic motives, with full reliance upon the good faith of the State for its reimbursement, and without it the machinery of the State government could not have been kept in motion."

A joint committee of the two houses, embracing some of the ablest Democratic members was appointed, as requested in my message, who patiently investigated all my accounts, including the expenditure of \$133,302 which I had obtained from the President, and unanimously reported them correct, taking no exception, even to the amount of one cent. The unexpended portion of the \$250,000 which I had obtained from the President, and which I described in my message as the military fund, and which was erroneously stated in the message as \$115,000, instead of \$116,000, I did not pay into the State treasury, as suggested in my message, but refunded directly to the General Government, as before shown; and the \$133,302 which I had expended for the State was settled for with the government by giving credit to the government for that amount on the indebtedness of the government to the State, as before shown. After a full examination of my accounts the Legislature made an appropriation to pay my borrowed money and the debts I had contracted; also the sum of about \$600,000—the exact amount, however, I am not able to state from memory—which I had procured from Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, to advance in payment of interest on bonds of the State during the years 1863 and 1864, the payment of which interest had been withheld by the Auditor and Treasurer of State during these two years. All payments for civil and military expenses of the State, including benevolent institutions and penitentiaries, and excepting only the salaries of public officers, were paid upon my own check, through a financial bureau established in my office, the State Auditor and State Treasurer declining all co-operation. My course was approved by the people of Indiana, by my re-election as Governor in 1864, by a majority of more than 20,000, and by the election of a Republican Legislature and Republican State officers. The intermediate history between the events I have described, in the spring of 1863, and the meeting of the Legislature in January, 1865, I will refer to but briefly, although it was extraordinary in its character, and unlike that of any other State. The State was honeycombed with secret societies, formerly known as Knights of the Golden Circle, but at that time as Sons of Liberty. They claimed, in 1864, to have 40,000 members in the State, were lawless, defiant, plotting treason against the United States and the overthrow of the State government. In some counties their operations were so formidable as to

require the militia to be kept on a war footing, and throughout 1863, and until the final explosion of the organization in August, 1864, they kept the whole State in an uproar and alarm. So bold were their demonstrations through the summer of 1863 that General John Morgan, of Kentucky, was induced to invade the State with his forces, in the belief that there would be a general uprising in his support. In 1864, so numerous were these treasonable organizations, and so confident were they of their strength, that they matured a plan for a general uprising in the city of Indianapolis, on the 16th of August, to be under cover of a mass meeting of the Democratic party, to be attended by members of these organizations from all parts of the State. The plan, as shown by subsequent confessions of some of the leading conspirators, was, on that day, to release about 7,000 rebel prisoners confined at Camp Morton, seize the arsenal and arm these prisoners, overturn the State government, and take possession of the State. This plan could not be kept secret. It was developed some three weeks before the time fixed, and was abandoned by the leading conspirators, and orders issued countermanding the march of their forces upon Indianapolis. Subsequently, the discovery and seizure of a large amount of arms and ammunition, collected at Indianapolis for treasonable purposes, and the seizure of the records and rituals of the order of the Sons of Liberty, giving the names of the principal conspirators, and the arrest of some eight of the ringleaders, had the effect to break up and destroy the power of the organization; and I regret to have to state that in the list of the principal members of this organization were found the names of three of the State officers into whose hands the Legislature of 1863 had attempted to place the whole military power of the State. On the trial of these ringleaders before a military tribunal, appointed by the President under the act of Congress, some of them turned State's evidence and disclosed the full character and extent of the conspiracy. Four of them were convicted and sentenced to death, one of whom made his escape, another was pardoned outright by President Johnson, and the two others, Bowles and Milligan, had their punishment commuted by President Johnson to imprisonment for life, but were afterwards released by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the effect that a military commission had no jurisdiction to try them for the offense.

There is a large volume of unpublished history, showing in detail the operations of these organizations, who were their aiders and abettors, and the connection they had with the politics of the day. It may be proper to state that the Democratic Legislature of 1863, before its adjournment, had appointed an auditing committee of its own members to audit and supervise all my accounts and expenditures for military purposes, which sat almost continuously till January, 1865, and that this committee did audit and approve every one of my expenditures, including that of the \$133,300 of the fund obtained from the President. The same Legislature appointed a committee to investigate all my expenditures and accounts from the beginning of the war up to January, 1865. This investigation was prosecuted with great vigor until late in the spring of 1863, and after the breaking up of the Legislature. Failing to find anything wrong in my accounts, to the

amount of even a cent, the Democratic majority of the committee refused to make any report at all, but the Republican minority made a report indorsing my official conduct in every particular.

SENATOR ANTHONY'S REMARKS.

MR. ANTHONY—I well remember, Mr. President, the bold and patriotic course that was taken by the Senator from Indiana, then the Governor of that State, at the interesting period to which he has referred. I vividly recall the thrill of exultation which passed through every loyal heart when he sent howling to their homes the men who, traitors alike to the General Government and to their own State, false both to the Union and to the pretensions of State rights, upon which those who revolted against the Union alone defended themselves, gave aid and comfort to the common enemy in arms alike against the United States and against the State of Indiana.

It is not strange that that act, as every other act of every public man, right or wrong, good or bad, true or imputed, is made the occasion of villification; for we live in a time of public scandal, and no man who holds any public position, scarcely any man who interests himself in public affairs, escapes the general vituperation. Men whose lives have been passed in the reputable, and even in the illustrious service of their country, are held up to the execration of the people, whose good will they enjoy, and whose gratitude some of them have earned. The testimony has been worthy of the accusation. Discharged employes, broken down contractors, illicit distillers, disappointed office-seekers, men compared to whom Titus Oates was a credible witness, have been permitted to drag the reputations of honorable men before tribunals which, in their methods of jurisprudence, remind us of the star chamber, and whose interpretation of the laws of evidence, and the rights of the accused were borrowed from the Spanish inquisition.

Nay, Mr. President, the penitentiary and the mad-house have given up their dead in this general resurrection of falsehood and perjury. It is but a few days since the whole country was startled with the foreshadowing of some terrible revelation against the elected chief of the Republic. We were told that he had committed a crime so atrocious that it could not be named; but when it was exhibited to the American people in its unparalleled enormity, nothing but the shortest methods of the quickest impeachment would stand between you, Mr. President, and the White House, which I hope, at some day, you will reach by a less circuitous route. And, Mr. President, when this accusation was put to the proof, when the testimony upon which all these charges had been made was adduced, it appeared that a crazy man was ready to testify, with a solemnity that left no doubt of the sincerity of his conviction, that the spirit of General Grant was accustomed to pass through the key-hole of his chamber by night, and to stand beside his bed. And upon the promise of that testimony, and nothing else whatever, a thousand newspapers opened their batteries upon the character of the man who had borne the flag of his country in triumph from the fallen ramparts of Fort Donelson to the captured citadel of the rebellion, and who had been twice elected by the people to the highest place in their gift.

The miserable instruments of all this scandal will be likely to escape, or

will be beaten with "few stripes." Reputation they have none to be injured; generally as poor in purse as they are in honor, they laugh at fines and confiscations; and the universal contempt in which they are held by those who suffer from them, and by those who employ them, will probably preserve the penitentiary from the contamination of their presence. But, sir, behind these are men who have a name and a stake in the country, men who employ or encourage these miserable instruments in scandals with which they scorn to soil their own hands, but from which they expect profit to party. Let these men turn to history. Its pages are full of illustrations of

"Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return to plague the inventor."

And history will be reversed if the poisoned shafts which they have placed in the hands of others be not turned upon their own defenseless bosoms, if their own reputations do not suffer by the methods by which they have allowed others to be assailed, and if the distress which they have carried to the innocent homes of others is not returned to their own.

SENATOR CAMERON'S REMARKS.

MR. CAMERON, of Pennsylvania—It happens, Mr. President, that at the beginning of the war I was in a position which enabled me to know something of the conduct of the then Governor of Indiana. I have listened to his statement this morning with interest, because I have always felt a great regard for him personally. I remember well that he was perhaps the youngest Governor in the Union at the time the rebellion broke out. He lived in a border State. A great portion of its people had come from the South. They were not only citizens there, but they were citizens of great influence. He was very much embarrassed by opposition in everything he did; but no matter what the difficulties presented to him he surmounted them all, because he was determined to do everything which an honest, able and patriotic man should do for his country. At the beginning of the rebellion, he sent more troops, and with greater alacrity, than any one of the States, to the seat of war. His State had no arsenals and no arms; and when the government at Washington was unable to furnish his troops with guns and munitions of war he bought them on his own credit, trusting that the government of Indiana would pay for them if the government of the United States should not do so. At this day men have forgotten the straits to which those in power at Washington had to resort to obtain supplies for the thousands of men who were willing and eager to tender their services for the defense of their imperiled country.

I believed then that no other man but that young Governor of Indiana could have saved that State from being carried out of the Union. He was embarrassed by the legislation of his State; he was embarrassed by many of the leading men of it also; no appropriations were made by the Legislature, and yet he established manufactories for all the necessities of the army there. He established storehouses and built hospitals without the means to pay for them. It is true that after awhile the government reimbursed his State for all the expenditures made there; but if he, or some other man with the wonderful energy he possessed, had not been where he

was, Indiana would have fallen, and would have been a part of the Southern Confederacy which they were attempting to build up, with great hopes of success, in the first year of the struggle.

Again, when men began to falter at the end of 1862 and the beginning of 1863, when our armies generally met with reverses, there was that young Governor again calling a meeting in the State of Pennsylvania of all the loyal Governors, and he met them there and gave encouragement to the faltering men of other States.

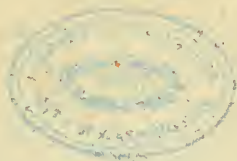
I verily believe that no man in the United States did more to give victory to our armies than did Oliver Perry Morton; and I have honored him ever since I knew him and witnessed his great services; and I am glad that he has been assailed, because an honest man can afford to be assailed and assaulted in the certainty that in good time justice is sure to be done him.

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OLIVER P. MORTON,

OF INDIANA.

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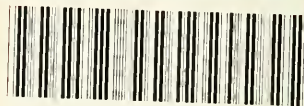
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